

13.

RELIGION
AND
LOYALTY

Supporting each other.

OR,
A RATIONAL ACCOUNT
HOW THE
Loyal Addressees

MAINTAINING
The Lineal Descent of the Crown is very
Consistent with their Affection to the Established
PROTESTANT RELIGION.

By a true Son of the Church of England.

Matth. XXII. 21.

*Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsars, and unto G O D
the things which are Gods.*

The Second Edition, Corrected and Enlarged by the Author.

L O N D O N,
Printed for Robert Clavel, at the Peacock in St. Paul's
Church-yard. 1683.

RELIGION

LOYALTY

Supporting each other
OR
A RATIONAL ACCOUNT

Loyal Address

PROTESTANT RELIGION


God is the Father of the Fatherless
and the Lord of the Lords

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and the Lord of the Lords
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RELIGION and LOYALTY

Supporting each other.

 Although the Loyal Protestants of the Church of *England* have been deeply charged by the furious Zealots and bold Republicans, as Enemies to Parliaments, Friends to Popery, and encouragers of Arbitrary Power; yea, and branded with the Odious names of *Papists*, *Tories*, and *Protestants* in Masquerade, especially since their unanimous Addresses of Thanks to His Majesty for his *Gracious Declaration*; yet in regard they are Innocent of these odious Crimes, and have acted most agreeably to the Rules of Prudence and Conscience, lest their silence upon so grievous an Accusation, should give a tacit suspicion of their guilt, and embolden their malicious Adversaries to persist in their Calumnies, I shall not only vindicate the Loyal Addressors from all the Aspersions that the Enemies of the Established Government and Religion would fix upon them; but also demonstrate they have done nothing in this matter, but what became them as good Christians, and good Subjects. And this I shall make out, First, by a brief account of the Reasonableness of their *Addressing* in general. Secondly, by a rational defence of the main points of those *Addresses*; both as to the preservation of the Succession in the right Line, and as

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to the securing of the *Protestant Religion* as it is now by Law established ; which two things, some by ignorance or inconsideration have represented as contradictory and inconsistent. But if Mens inveterate Malice, and unalterable Prejudices do not blind or bias their Understandings, I hope these fair and full accounts may satisfy all, That the Loyal Protestant Addressors have been most grossly abused, and most falsely represented.

First, As to *Addressees* in general, they are one sort of Petitioning, and do express to His Sacred Majesty the desires of many Thousands of his Loyal Subjects, who take this Method to let their Sovereign know what satisfaction they have under his Gracious Government, and how earnestly they desire the Monarchy, and Protestant Religion by Law established, may be defended against the Incroachings and Designs of *Papists, Sectaries, and Republicans*. And because the owning of Favours received is the best Introduction to any *Petition*, therefore the *Addressors* do commonly begin with that Humble Thanks, which His Majesties former care of the Establishments hath justly merited ; and from thence they take occasion to acquaint him in a Dutiful and Loyal manner, with their desires, That he will not recede from those excellent Laws which are the security both of the Crown and of Religion also. Now, if it be (as the last Parliament at *Westminster* did declare) the *undoubted Right* of the Subjects of *England* to Petition their Prince, then the *Addressors* have only exercised this, which the Parliament hath told them is their undoubted Right ; and upon this account it must be as great a Crime to abhor *Addresses*, as it was to abhor *Petitions*. And surely if all the Subjects of *England* have a Right to Petition, then they have a liberty of judging what they think most expedient to Petition for. And if the Dissenting Party may Petition for the Subversion of the Laws, surely

surely we may more justly Petition for their establishment; for 'tis certain they have no better Birth-rights than we, nor can they pretend to have more Priviledges by being worse Subjects, neither will they be so ridiculous to affirm, their Petitions were right, because His Majesty forbid and discouraged them, and ours wrong, because he is pleased to encourage and accept them. A Wise Man will ask nothing that he knows before-hand will be denied, unless he intend to provoke or defie him that he Petitions: But *nitimur in vetitum*, is the old Motto of this Party, and though herein they differ from all the Rules that other Men call Prudence, yet they act but according to their usual Practice. But we shall not censure them, it sufficeth us to justifie our selves, and therefore let it be considered, how any Petitioner or any assenter to that Vote of the Subjects Right to Petition, can censure those who have only Petitioned in a more Loyal and Dutiful style? If they blame us for Addressing in general, they condemn their own Acts and the Parliaments Votes. If they say it is unseasonable and of ill consequence to make Parties, we ask the Petitioners, who began to take this course? We cannot forget how industriously they drew in all they could to sign their Petitions, how highly they threatned all that did refuse; how insolently they boasted of their numbers and of their power, as if they intended not to beseech, but to affright His Majesty into compliance. And since the matter of many of their *Petitions* did contain Odious Reflections upon the King and his Government; and many other things contrary to the Opinion and Desires of many thousand Loyal *Protestant* Subjects; Certainly those who disliked the matter of those Petitions ought not to suffer them to pass for the Sense of the whole Nation; nor to permit their Sovereign and themselves to be so far imposed on, as if all the Subjects
of

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of *England* were of that mind. And since the Petitioners began to number their Friends, it was time to examine what proportion for Number or Quality the dislikers of those Petitions bore to the other Party. And if this be an ill thing, the Petitioners who shewed the way, and gave the occasion, must bear all the blame of it.

But some will enquire, what necessity or what reason there was for any *Addresses* at this time: I Answer, First, whereas the Leaders of the Petitioning-men had terrified the Nation with Reports of His Majesties designing *Arbitrary Government*, and secretly favouring *Popery*, and many other ill things; we were extreemly pleased to find, both by His Majesties words and deeds, that all these were meer Calumnies and designs to foment the Peoples Fears and Jealousies, till they were capable of serving some Mens evil ends. And when his *Declaration*, and all his Actions manifested his strict regard to the Laws established, and his willingness to do any thing, (which was consistent with the safety of the Monarchy) for the preservation of the *Protestant Religion*; we could not but express our gratitude and satisfaction, and testify to the World how Noble an Opinion we had of His Majesties goodness, and how great confidence we had in his Royal Word.

Secondly, Considering the Factionous and the Sectaries did so generally return their active Friends in the House of Commons Solemn Thanks for attempting to repeal those Laws, which restrain them from that wild and dangerous Liberty they desire, promising them to stand by them therein with their Lives and Fortunes: Surely the Protestants of the Church of *England* had reason to return His Majesty their humble Thanks, for his Prudent and Courageous adhering to those established Laws, which Experience shews are the best prevention of growing Faction. And since they had observed that

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in the Country Towns were those Laws were sometimes executed, there were but few Divisions, and little or no appearance of Schism; but in Cities and Corporations where these Laws have slept by the connivance of those in Power, there are more Factions and greater Divisions: this could not but convince them, His Majesty was a real Friend to the Protestant Religion, in refusing to pull down this Fence, in promising to execute these Laws, and in quashing that Bill of Union, falsely so called, which would have broke the Protestants into many little Parties, and exasperated them one against another. All these worthy Acts of His Sacred Majesty, doubtless deserved the Thanks of all those who love the Church of *England*, and who would not see her trampled on by the vilest Sectaries. And surely it is more Lawful for us to promise to stand by His Majesty in the defence of the Protestant Religion with our Lives and Fortunes, than for others to make this promise to any Party of the Lower House of Parliament.

Thirdly, The like may be said of the Republicans, who joyned with the Factious as well in Petitioning the King, as returning Thanks to the Members of Parliament, though their main incentive was, their hopes that the breaking of the Succession, would upon his present Majesties death break the *Monarchy* to pieces, and restore their beloved Common-wealth. And what Cause is there why the Friends of Monarchy, (who all know by Reason, and some of them by sad Experience, what they must suffer if ever the right Form of Government be overturned) should not return His Majesty hearty Thanks for rejecting those dangerous Proposals, which they believed would have exposed them, their Liberties, Lives, and Fortunes, to the Mischiefs of a Civil War, and of a Tyrannizing Republic?

• Lastly, We did conceive His Majesty did not meet with

with that encouragement that so Gracious a Prince deserved for his great care of Religion, and our true Liberties; but was publickly reflected on, both in words and in Print; to the seducing of many of his well-meaning Subjects, who had not the opportunity of being rightly informed. And if these false and disloyal Characters of His Majesty and his designs had not been timely rectified, they might have drawn off many more: For the Sense of a few passed current for *Vox Populi*, and *Vox Patriæ*, and this hath emboldned the Factious, discouraged the Kings Friends, hindred all hopeful Proposals for our Settlement, and made all Publick Councils prove abortive. Whereas now these *Addresses* make it evident, that many Thousands of Quality, and Repute for Knowledge and Integrity, do know and believe better things of the King and his Government: which will encourage the King in his resolution to preserve the Laws, and engage all who have no private ends to serve, to comply with His Majesty in those Gracious designs of His, for securing Religion and our Liberties. And it is hoped they may tend to make the People have a better Opinion of their Prince, and to make him to have a better Opinion of his People, and then we may expect more expedition and success in all those Councils that tend to the Publick safety.

To this it is replied, that the *Addressors* are (in the Opinion of the *Petitioners*) too inconsiderable a Party to hope for any such event, considering how they have been out-voted in all Elections. But let it be considered, that the Major part of the Kings Council, and of the House of Peers, and the greater part of the Gentry who were not concerned in the late Parliaments, almost the whole body of the Clergy, with as many Country Freeholders, as are not awed by some of the contrary Party, all these have approved *Addresses*. And as to the *Elections*,

tions, if we observe the vast number of Cities, Boroughs, and Corporations (generally inclining to Faction) in comparison of the Shires, and withal remember that every little 40 s. man hath as much power in Electing two Members as a Country Gentleman of 2000 l. per Annum; it will be no great wonder, if those who are far superior in Quality and Worth do not number so many Members of their Party as the other. But we see daily many Persons of great eminency are come over to the *Addressors* side, meerly convinced by the Kings goodness, and the right stating of the Case between Him and his Parliament. And more no doubt will have their Eyes opened to discern, that though the end at which, it is said, the Commons aimed (*viz.* the securing our Religion and Liberties) was very good; yet the means they used was not the way to effect it. And since we have seen the ill success of those Methods, I make no question, but if the *Addressors* activity be but answerable to their Power and Interest, we may have a more moderate Parliament chosen, when the Kings Occasions require it; which by reasonable compliance with His Majesty, may so work upon his goodness, as to procure all that is needful to make us happy and as secure as good Laws can make us.

And whereas some malicious Persons do reproach the *Loyal Addressors* as Enemies to Parliaments, nothing can be more false, for they really love and honour Parliaments, as the best means for this Nations safety; and therefore they all thank His Majesty for that Gracious Declaration, wherein he promises to have frequent Parliaments. And nothing can encourage His Majesty more to perform that Promise, than the Assurances these *Addressees* give him, that he hath a considerable number of Active and Loyal Subjects, who will make it their endeavour to choose him such a House of *Commons*, as

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may oblige Him to do all that can be desired for the safety of our Religion, Lives, and Estates. And therefore I suppose we may conclude, that *Addressees* are rational and proper, seasonable and well intended; and the *Addressors* may justly be reckoned amongst the best sort of Protestants, Patriots and Subjects.

Secondly, We proceed to vindicate the matter of the *Addresses*, that is, not the various Phrases of particular Forms, but that which they all agree in, *viz.* In asserting the lineal and regular Succession of the Crown to the next Heir of the Royal Blood: And in securing the Protestant Religion, as now by Law established. For these two are the main Points; and the Enemies of *Addresses* would gladly perswade the People that they are not consistent with one another, and therefore that no sincere Protestant can be for the Succession in our present Circumstances; and that whoever is for the Succession now, wishes for the establishment of Popery, and is ready to turn to it, yea, advances an Interest that will certainly overthrow the Protestant Religion at last. But that I may shew the falshood of this most odious charge, I shall first, give an account of the *Addressors* Reasons, why they do adhere to the Succession in its due course: and Secondly, shall manifest, that this their Opinion is very consistent with a true affection to the Protestant Religion, and the surest way to preserve it.

First, We do grant that the Church of *England* Protestants are generally against the Bill of *Exclusion*; and though some men for want of Consideration, wonder at this, as a most imprudent thing; I must tell them, that if the Church of *England* did make Worldly Interest the sole measure of her Actions, as *Papists* and *Sectaries* generally do, they would never consider what was honest, but only what was expedient, and never stick at ill means to accomplish that which they account good Ends. 'Tis well

well known the Papists in *France* renounced *Henry* the Fourth, though his Title was indisputable, because he was as not of their Religion. And those of *England* used all means to exclude King *James* from his just Right to this Crown, upon the same grounds. And it is as plain that the Factious Party did Depose and Banish *Mary* Queen of *Scots*; Rebel against and Murther *Charles* the First of *England*; yea, that they did expel and keep out our present Sovereign from his undoubted Inheritance, because of the difference of Religion. And whatever Papists have done for advancing their pretended Catholick Church, *Sectaries* have done to set up their *Good Old Cause*; yea, both sides gloried in these Acts, meerly because they were expedient, and served to advance their Interests. But we of this Church are perhaps the only Christians since the Primitive Ages, who never dispensed with our Loyalty to serve our Worldly ends. And if this do not commend our Policy, I am sure it declares our Honesty and Integrity, and must needs recommend us to all Good Men, as those who prefer our Duty and our Conscience before all Earthly Advantages. Wherefore all that the *Excluders* can say, as to the Policy and Expedience of this Method, cannot reconcile us to it, till they have proved it to be just and honest; which we believe they can never do. And since this is our chief Reason to dislike the Bill of *Exclusion*, because we think it unlawful, I shall more largely handle this Point, both as to Reason, and matter of Fact: Answering by the way that fallacious Pamphlet, styled *The History of the Succession*, which hath deceived so many well-meaning Men; and when I have proved the breaking the *Succession* unlawful, then I shall more briefly touch those other Reasons, which do confirm us in our dislike of that Bill.

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As to the Reasons and Matter of Fact, which prove it unlawful to alter the Succession, take this full account.

Since Government certainly began in, and sprang from one Family at first, no doubt that which gave Being to it, prescribed also the Form of it. Now the first Father of Mankind was invested by God with a power of governing all that proceeded from him, and upon his decease that Power descended to the eldest of his Family then living, and though by the increase of Mankind branches were split from the first stock, and Colonies transplanted into remoter Countries, yet the eldest of the Family that settled together, by right of Primogeniture, was Originally their King, and thence it comes to pass, both that the first Governments we read of in any Countrey were Monarchies, which *Aristotle* confesses, saying — *Cities were Governed by Kings at first, as the Barbarous Nations are still — for every Family had the eldest for a King, Arist. Polit. lib. 1. cap. 2.* And also that all Nations in all Ages have agreed, that it is the right of the eldest Son to Inherit, which the Jewish Doctors thus express, *He that hath the principal right to the Inheritance of Land, hath also the right of Succeeding in the Kingdom, and therefore the eldest Son is to be preferred (a).* *Herodotus* also affirms,

(a) Talmud. tract. Sanhedr.

(b) Herod. Pol.

l. 7. pag. 445.

(c) Idem Erato

l. 6 pag. 406.

(d) Justin. hist.

l. 2. pag. 36.

(e) Zosimi. hist.

l. 2. p. 684.

(f) Nicetas

Chron. hist p 8.

that it is believed among all men, that the eldest Son ought to have the Kingdom (b); and he saith, the Spartans made the first born King as the Law required (c). Another Historian tells us, *The eldest Son challenged the Kingdom by the Privilege of his Age, which is a Law that the order of Birth and Nature it self gives to all Nations (d).* The Law (saith another) gives the Government of the Kingdom to the Kings eldest Son (e). Nature is wont to give the Principality to the eldest, saith the Emperour *Johannes Comnenus (f)*. All which we see make this to be a Law of Nature, and the practice of

of Mankind hath been so agreeable thereto, that four parts of five of the known World, were always, and are now Governed by Hereditary Monarchs. And where any other Government was or is established, it was founded generally in Rebellion, and raised upon the Ruins of a Monarchy, which the aforesaid Philosopher observes concerning his own Countrey, *The first Popular Government among the Greeks was made by the Souldiers after the falling of Monarchy, Aristot. Pol. lib. 4. cap. 13.* Yea, the Confusion and Seditions that naturally spring from these Republicks, have already ruined many of them, and forced others to return to a Monarchy again. 'Tis true, there is no such thing as a perfect State to be found in this World, but that is the best which hath fewest inconveniencies, and that is undoubtedly the Ancient and Natural way of Successive Monarchy, which prevents the great Occasions of strife upon any change, to which Elective Kingdoms are constantly exposed, and curbs the Mischievous Designs of Popular Men, who make such havock, and commit such outrages in all Democracies, that one of the Ancients Observes, *God did not institute Democracy but Monarchy, because Parity of Power generally begets War, Isid. Peleus. lib. 2. Ep. 216.* This lets the People know their Governours, and makes the Prince in Possession as careful to keep and leave the Realm in good Order, when he knows it shall go to his next Heir, as the Husbandman is to improve that Farm which he is sure shall remain in his Posterity. This makes less alterations upon change of Governours, because they of the same Family do usually pursue the same Designs, and retain the same Friends: Finally, this brings a Prince to his Power with a great and noble Spirit, sets him above petty Revenges, and by his transcendent extraction makes him more fit to Govern, and the Nobles more inclined

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(*) *τέτων ὁ
 βελτίστη ἢ βα-
 σιλεύεια. Aristot.
 Ethic. lib. 8.
 cap. 12.*

(g) *An. 16. H. 1.
 Forval. col.
 1006. A. 1125.
 Ibid. 1016.
 An. 1153.
 Chron. Gervaf.
 col. 1378.*

(h) *Chron.
 Gervafii Do-
 rob. col. 1338.*

(i) *Britt. c. 34.
 T. t. De donis.*

inclined to Obey: for which reason the far greatest part of Men have continued under this Natural and most Excellent sort of Government, (*) viz. Hereditary Monarchies. But to come nearer to the point, and consider this Kingdom of *England*: It hath been generally affirmed and believed, that this Kingdom is an *Hereditary Monarchy*, and hence it is so often called *Hæreditarium Regnum* in our Old Historians (as we shall presently shew) and from thence it was, that many of our Kings in their life time required the Nobles and others to swear fealty to their Heirs, of which there are divers Instances (g); agreeable to which Ancient Usage in the Modern Oath of Allegiance we swear to be true to the King and his Heirs. And from hence came that old Maxim, *That the King of England never dies*, and his Successor begins his Reign that very day on which the King deceases, before any Acts of the People can intervene, and before he hath had the Solemnity of a Coronation, he doth and may do all acts of a King: So that one of our old Historians (h) saith, *It is manifest and known to all, that the Kings of England are obliged and bound to God alone for the acquiring of their Kingdom: and surely this is the chiefest Right and Prerogative of the Crown, that it is Hereditary: and if so, we have the Opinion of Britton the Famous Lawyer, That the Kings of England can alien nothing of the right of their Crown, that it is not repealable by their Successors (i); and of later time Sir Edward Coke saith, (upon the Parliament Roll, 42 Edw. 3. num. 7.) It is a Law and Custom of Parliament, that no King can alien the Crown from the right Heir, though by the consent of the Lords and Commons. And again elsewhere, The Royal Dignity is an inherent inseparable to the Blood Royal, and cannot be transferred to another. Cokes Reports 2. fol. 28. By which it is plain, that it is the most*

most Fundamental constitution of our Government that it is Hereditary: but if any shall attempt to put by the right Heir where the Title is unquestionable, and choose another, this is to alter the Fundamental Constitution of the Government, and make the Kingdom become Elective: And for the King, he hath only an Estate in the Crown during his own life, and if he alter the Succession, where the Title is clear, he determines of a thing not to take place till his Interest be expired, and gives Law to one, that when it is to be executed, is not under his power. As for the two Houses, they are still Subjects of an Hereditary Monarchy, and are all obliged by the Oath of Allegiance, *to their power to assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Privileges, Preheminencies and Authorities granted or belonging to the Kings Highness, his Heirs and Successors* — and that they will bear true Faith and Allegiance to the Kings Majesty, his Heirs and Lawful Successors: and how they can absolve themselves from this Oath is not easie to be understood, no more than it is, how they can justly call an elected Successor, Lawful, when there is in Being an undoubted Lawful Heir: But it is said, that Parliaments *de facto* have altered the Succession; to which we reply, that to argue from Fact to Right, is no good consequence: and besides, these Acts of Parliament were generally where the Title was disputable, and if at any time they did put by the undoubted Heir, the Act was reputed null and void without any repeal, as in the case of those Acts which settled the Crown on the House of Lancaster, which Richard Duke of York in open Parliament declared, were of no force against him, who was the right Heir by Blood, according to the Laws of God and Nature: *Rot. Parl. 39. Hen. 6. num. 10.* Nor would Queen Elizabeth allow the Parliament to repeal the Law which excluded her, but only was declared by her Parliament, right Heir by Lineal Descent, which was then

then judged sufficient to vacate that Act. And further, it is clear, that all these Princes who came in upon ill Titles (though confirmed by Parliament) yet they are called by our old Historians by the name of *Usurpers*, which seems to prove, that as to matter of Law the right Heir cannot be put by the Succession.

But the Author of that Pamphlet, entituled *The History of the Succession*, runs altogether upon matter of Fact, pretending to prove it Lawful because of the frequency of this practice, which by forged Quotations and false Reasoning he endeavours to make out. In Answer to which deceitful Libel I shall give a brief account of the Succession, as it is described by our best Historians, remarking by the way some of that Authors most notorious Mistakes; and this I hope will still prove more clearly, that this Kingdom is and ought to be *Hereditary*.

That the *Britons* had a Race of Kings, is evident from those yet extant Catalogues of Hereditary Princes, who Reigned here before the *Romans* came in; and *Tacitus* expressly saith; *Of Old the Britons obeyed Kings*, and he notes, that it was the breaking of this their Monarchy by *Factions*, that made them a prey to the *Romans*, (*k*). The *Saxons* came from the *Germans*, who were Famous of Old for their obeying Kings, *Tacit. de Morib. German. Tom. 2. pag. 668.* And were nearly allyed to those Ancient *Franks*, who lived well, and were Ruled happily, the Kingdom always passing from the Father to the Son, *Agathias ap. Gröt. in excerptis, pag. 532.* So that among them this Succession was, *The Law of their Countrey, Idem, Ibid. pag. 534. 572.* And therefore during the *Saxon Heptarchy*, every Kingdom followed the course of Succession, (*) and though among so Barbarous and unsettled a People, Tyranny and Force sometimes broke the Chain; yet in the first Kingdom of *Kent* (to take that for an Example) there was but one breach in the

(k) *Tacit. vita Agric. p. 142.*

(*) *Habueruntque per seriem Successionis Reges fortissimos. De Saxon. Neubrigensis in poem.*

the regular Succession for above 300 years, from *Hen-*
gist, An. 455. until *Alric* the last King of *Kent*, An.
 794. in whom (saith *Malmsbury*) the Royal Stock
 of these Kings decayed, and the same Author notes,
 that upon *Cedwalla's* Invasion, *When Kent was in a*
desperate estate, the Royal Succession failed for about
Six years (l); which implies, that the Kingdom went
 by Inheritance at other times. (l) *Malmsbur.*
l. 1. c. 1. p. 4, 5.

But we generally begin to reckon our Succession
 from *Egbert*, the first *Saxon Monarch*, who was
 originally King of the *West-Saxons*, and conquered
 all the other Kingdoms. The fraudulent Author of
 the *History of Succession*, questions his Title to *West-*
Saxony, pag. 1. *because he was not of Kin to Bithricus*
his Predecessor in that Kingdom: but he conceals that
Bithricus was an Usurper, after whose death *Eg-*
bert—who derived his Pedigree from the Royal
 Family of that Nation (m), —who was the only
 Survivor of the Blood Royal, —ascended the Throne
 of his Ancestors (n); which are the words of our
 old Authentic Historians, and do prove that *Egbert*
 came to the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons* by Inheri-
 tance: And therefore upon his death he left this King-
 dom to his eldest Son *Ethelwolf*, and by his Will
 gave his two conquered Kingdoms of *Kent* and *Sussex*
 to *Edelstan* his second Son, who was but a tributary
 King to his elder Brother, to whom these Kingdoms
 reverted after *Edelstans* death, as *Henry of Hun-*
tingdon declares(o). After this the noble King *Ethel-*
wolf (dying) Left to his Son *Ethelbald* his hereditary
 Kingdom of *West-Saxony*, and to *Ethelbert* his other
 Son, the Kingdom of *Kent*, *Essex*, and *Sussex* (p). And
Matthew of Westminster saith, King *Ethelwolf* made
 this division of his Kingdoms by his Will (q); and
Malmsbury notes, that upon *Ethelbald's* death the whole
 devolved

(m) *Mat. Westm.*
An. 802.

(n) *W. Malmsb.*
l. 2. p. 8, & 22.

(o) *Hen. Hunt.*
l. 4. p. 498, & c.

(p) *Idem, lib. 5.*
pag. 200.

(q) *Matth. West.*
An 857.

(r) *W. Malmsh.*
l. 2. c. 3. p. 22.

(s) *Jorvallefi*
col. 831.

devolved upon the second Son *Ethelbert*, who also dying without Issue, *The third Son of Ethelwolf*, called *Ethelred*, obtained his Fathers Kingdom (r); after whom followed regularly King *Alfred*, fourth Son of *Ethelwolf*; and, after the death of *Alfred*, *Edward* his eldest Son received his Fathers Kingdom, according to his Fathers last will, *Polydor Virgil* l. 5. (s). So that thus far the Kingdom went in the natural order of Succession, and was settled only by the Kings Will.

(t) *Malmshur.*
lib. 2. cap. 5.
pag. 25, 26, &
27.

(u) *Simeon Du-*
nelm. col. 154,
& *Roger Hove-*
den, pag. 242.
(w) *Jorval.* col.
837.

* *Vide Baluz. no-*
tas ad Capitulu-
lar. Tom. 2.
pag. 1082.

(x) *Mat. Westm.*
An. 949.

(y) *Mat. Westm.*
An. 946.

Upon the death of this *Edward*, Surnamed the elder, *Athelstan* was proclaimed King according to his Fathers last Will (t), and though the Pamphlet affirm he was a Bastard and elected, yet *William of Malmshury* doubts the credit of that report of his being a Bastard, and saith it was raised by one that aspired to the Crown, and affirms he was the eldest Son; nor do other Historians say any thing of his election, only that *Edward* left the Government of his Kingdom to his eldest Son *Athelstan* (u), and that his eldest Son *Athelstan* succeeded him (w); and therefore if any other old Writers have the phrase of *Election*, they can mean no more by it, but that the Nobles obeyed the deceased Kings Will in declaring him King who was the right Heir, and on whom his Father had settled the Crown. * This *Athelstan* afterwards dying without issue, his Brother and lawful Heir *Edmund* succeeded him in the Kingdom, saith *Matthew of Westminster* (x); and after *Edmund* followed *Edred*, third Son of King *Edward* the elder. 'Tis true, the same Historian saith, *Edmund* also left his two Sons his lawful Heirs—who by reason of their illegal Age could not succeed (y); and another saith, *Edred* the Uncle succeeded, because the Children of *Edmund*, *Edwin*, and *Edgar* were so very young, that they were un-
capable

capable of Governing the Realm (z). And it is like enough this *Edred* might be appointed the Successor by *Edmunds* last Will because of his Childrens minority, however no Historian mentions this Succession of the Uncle, to have been by any popular or Parliamentary election: And it was not long before *Edred* the Uncle died, and then his two Nephews *Edwin* and *Edgar* reigned successively according to their natural rights.

King *Edgar*, at his death left two Sons by two several Wives, but bequeathed the Crown to *Edward* the eldest, and though the second Wife stirred up some of the Nobles to advance her Son *Ethelred*; yet *Dunstan*, *Oswald* and the rest of the Bishops, with many Abbots and Dukes being assembled, chose *Edward*, as his Father had commanded, and having elected him, consecrated and anointed him King (a). The unfaithful Pamphlet of the Succession cites this very Quotation, but treacherously leaves out in the midst of the Sentence these words [as his Father had commanded] that he might falsely insinuate a popular Election, whereas 'tis plain, this election was no more than the Bishops and Nobles following King *Edgar's* direction and will in declaring the right Heir to be King; which is no Election at all in his sense of the word. Afterward this *Edward* was murdered by his Stepmothers practices, and then *Ethelred* succeeded in the right Line: so that from *Egbert* to the death of *Ethelred* for above 200 years, during the Reign of Fourteen Kings, there was not one Parliamentary election out of the due course of Succession, and but one breach in the Succession during the minority of the right Heir.

Upon *Ethelreds* death the Kingdom was in great confusion by the *Danish* Invasion, who had conquered the greatest part of *England*; yet so great respect was

(z) *Forwallenf.*
col. 862,

(a) *Simeon Dunelm.* An. 975.
col. 159.

-----ut pater
ejus moriens di-
ctaverat elegerunt.

Matth. Westm.
An 975.

had to the right heir, that the Citizens of *London*, and as many Nobles as were not in the *Danes* power, proclaimed *Edmund Ironside* eldest Son of *Ethelred* King, and *Matthew of Westminster* calls him, *The natural King of England of the Line of the Kings* (b); and all our old Historians reckon him the true and lawful King of *England* (c). And though the greater part of the Clergy and Nobles in a Parliament at *Southampton* chose *Canutus* for their King, and rejected the Posterity of *Ethelred*: yet our Ancient Historians say, *Canutus* entered on the Kingdom unjustly (d), and that *He invaded the Kingdom of England* (e); from whence it plainly follows, That he who hath no Title by Blood, and is only elected by the People, is no other than a Usurper.

(b) *Mat. Westm.*
An. 1066.

(c) *Matmsbur.*
Forval. Hove-
den, S. Dunelm.

(d) *W. Malmsb.*
l. 2. c. 11. p. 41.

(e) *Mat. Westm.*
An. 1017.

Canutus having got the whole Kingdom after *Edmunds* death, crattily conveyed away the Children of *Edmund Ironside* as far off as *Hungary*, and by marrying *Emma* the Widow of *Ethelred* insinuated so far into the *English*, that he got them to elect his two Sons, *Harold-Harefoot* and *Hardicanute*, successively to reign after him; and 'tis no wonder if in a Usurping Race, the Peoples Election was much stood upon; but these Princes lived not long, and then the Crown returned into the *Saxon* Line again. The vast distance indeed, and the poverty of *Edmund Ironside's* Children (the right Heirs) and the power of *Queen Emma*, Stepmother to that Race, prevailed with the *English* to choose her Son *Edward*, called the *Confessor*, as the next of the Race of King *Ethelred* then known here: yet our Historians do always declare, (notwithstanding this election of *Edward the Confessor*) that *Edward* called the *Outlaw*, and *Edgar Atheling* his Son, were the right Heirs. So *Forvallenfis*: *Edmund and Edward, Sons of Edmund Ironside, were the right Heirs*

of

of the Kingdom; and the King of Hungary married his Daughter Agatha to Edward the Outlaw, as being the true Heir to England (f). Yea the Confessor was so sensible of the wrong he had done this Edward, that he sent for him and his Son Edgar Atheling over, and assured him, that either he or his Son should succeed him in the Hereditary Kingdom of England (g). They are the words of William of Malmsbury and do shew, that Edward the Confessor did believe this Kingdom to be Hereditary, and designed it should go to the right Heir, whom he Royally maintained, and had set up that Race here, but for the treachery of Earl Godwin; whose Son Harold procured himself to be made King, being elected (saith one) by all the Princes of England to the Royal Dignity (h); and yet he is generally called an Usurper. He seized on the Diadem (i); trusting in his Power and Friends he invaded the Imperial Crown (k). He had usurped the Kingdom and possessed it without any right (l). Thus do our Historians speak of this elected King. But in the mean time they generally declare Edgar Atheling to be the right Heir to the Crown, which we will only set down in the words of Matthew of Westminster: Edmund Ironside the natural King of England, of the Line of the Kings, begat Edward, and Edward begat Edgar, to whom of right the Kingdom of England was due (m); yea some of the English Nobles endeavoured to advance him to be King (n), both after the death of Edward the Confessor, and after William Duke of Normandy was come in: But by the power and policy of Harold first, and then of the Conqueror, Might overcame Right, and he never did enjoy the Crown, but still his Title was so far owned, that the Conquerors Race never thought themselves secure till they had married into the Blood Royal of the Saxons, and so restored the true Line.

William

(f) *Jorvalens.*
Col. 97c.(g) *W. Malmsb.*
lib. 2. pag. 52.(h) *S. Dunelm.*
Col. 193.(i) *Malmsbur.*
l. 2. p. 52.(k) *Huntingd.*
pag. 212.(l) *Jorval.*
Col. 958.(m) *Mat. Westm.*

An 1066.

(n) *Jorval.*
Col. 957.

William the Conqueror pretended a Grant of the Kingdom from *Edward the Confessor*, but as his Sword advanced him to the Crown, so it kept him in possession of it all his life; but the frequent opposition made to him on behalf of *Edgar Atheling* shewed sufficiently, that the *English* thought this Kingdom ought to have been Hereditary: However he kept it all his life, and at his death by his Will (without any Parliamentary consent) he gave his Paternal Inheritance, viz. Normandy, to his eldest Son *Robert*, * and his acquired Kingdom of *England* to *William Rufus*, his second Son, who did not come in by any Popular election (as the Writer of the History of *Succession* pretends) only the Nobles and People obeyed the *Conqueror's* will, and with willing minds accepted *William Rufus* for their King (o); and therefore his claim to the Crown, when it was questioned afterward, was grounded on his Fathers Will (p); and the aforesaid Writer of the *Succession* is mistaken in saying, *William Rufus* called the *English* Nobility together to give him a Title, when his Brother *Robert* opposed him; for this Assembly was not till half a year after his Coronation, and they were called together to procure them by force of Arms, to defend the Title he was possessed of, against his elder Brother, "to whom in the order of nature the *Succession* to the Kingdom did belong, as *William* of *Newburgh* speaks. lib. 1. cap. 2.

Henry the First was Crowned King at *Westminster*, within four days after his Brother *William's* death, by the consent indeed of those Barons who met on occasion of the late Kings Funeral, but were not assembled formally as a Parliament (q). 'Tis true they gave divers Reasons for this their consent, viz. That *Henry* was the only Son of his Father, begotten after he was King of *England* (r); That they knew not what was be-

come

*Ordine quidem
præpostero sci-
licet per ulti-
mam patris (ut
dictum est) Vo-
luntatem com-
mutato. Guil.
Newbrig. lib. 1.
cap. 2.
(o) Mat. Paris.
vit. Gul. 2. p. 14.

(p) Malmshur.
gest. reg. 1. 4.
p. 68.
Forval. col.
894.

(q) Sim. Dun.
An 1100.
col. 225.
Forv. col. 997.
(r) Forval. ib.

come of the elder Brother Robert, who had been five years absent in the Holy War (s): And also that this Robert was a Bastard; which the Author of the History of the Succession designedly left out in the middle of a Sentence, according to his wonted dishonesty; for he tells us out of Knighton, By the counsel of the Community of the Kingdom, and by unanimous consent they rejected him; but Knighton's words are, By the Counsel of the whole Community they laid Bastardy to his charge, that he was not begotten of the lawful Bed of William the Conqueror, for which cause by unanimous consent they rejected him (t); which shews, that the generality or community of the Nobles thought a Bastard could not inherit, and that they were obliged to elect the right Heir; yet Robert still claimed the Kingdom, as his right by primogeniture, Matthew Paris, pag. 56. and so did his Son also, *idem* pag. 71. yea the Historian saith, "Henry feared Gods judgments because" by a rash usurpation he had unjustly taken the Kingdom from his elder Brother, to whom of right it manifestly belonged, *Matth. Paris, An. 1105. p. 62.* It is certain, this Henry had no Parliament till he had reigned three Months, and then he married the Niece and one of the Heirs of Edgar Atheling, and thereby strengthened his Title to the Crown, which before relied more upon his Fathers Conquest than any Parliamentary election. And the Council Assembled in the Thirteenth year of his Reign, was not to confirm his own Title (as our Pamphleteer pretends) but to make the Nobles swear Fealty to his Son, in whom only rested his hopes of Succession (u), gathering the Nobles of the Country, he made them all swear that Fealty to his Son William which was due to their Lord (w): And though this Son of his died before his Father, yet this was a good proof that it was then believed

(s) *Mat. Paris.*
p. 55.

(t) *Knighton.*
Chron. l. 2. c. 8.
col. 2374.

(u) *Geru. Dorob.*
col. 1. 138.

(w) *Hen. Hunt.*
l. 7 pag. 217.
Sim. Dunelm.
An. 1116.

col. 228.
Jorval. An.
16. *Henr.* 1.
col. 1. 606.

Religion and Loyalty

believed the eldest Son had a right to succeed his Father : which Principle was so unquestionable in that Age, that even before this an old Historian says, *William Rufus was bound by agreement to give his elder Brother Robert 3000 Marks of Silver every year, for the manifest right which he had to possess the Kingdom of England* (x).

(x) *Mat. Westm.*
An. 1101.

Upon King *Henry's* death, notwithstanding the Nobles were bound by an Oath to be faithful to *Maud* the Empress, to whom and her Lawful heirs they had sworn to deliver up the Kingdom if the King had no Heirs-Male, *Forval, An. 1126. Col. 1016. Newbrig. l. 1. c. 3. Matthew Paris, An. 1132. P. 72.* yet our Historians say, the Nobles, Clergy, and People chose *Stephen* King : and the Pope confirmed the choice,

* *Regem mutuum vocat. Gervat. Derob. col. 1367.*

(y) *Malmshur. hist. Novell. 1. pag. 101.*

(z) *Hen Hunt. l. 8. pag. 221.*

(a) *Roger Hoveden, pag. 276.*

Forval col. 1023. Newbrig. lib. cap. 4.

(b) *Gervat. Derob. col. 1340. Matth. Paris. pag. 74.*

yet while there was another nearer in Blood the Ancient Writers reckon *Stephen* a meer Usurper; *Malmshur* saith, *He did not obtain the Kingdom lawfully* (y); and another saith, *Being filled with Courage and Impudence, tempting God, he invaded the Royal Diadem* (z). *Like a Tempest he invaded the Crown of England* as others express it (a), "Against all right humane and divine; Humane, because he was not lawful Heir; Divine, because he broke his oath, *Newbrig. lib. 1. cap. 5.* And these Historians observe, that the Divine Judgments fell on the Bishops and Nobles assisting at his Coronation; and yet before the Archbishop would Crown him, one of the Nobility solemnly swore, that he heard King *Henry* before his death, when he set them all free from the Oath of Allegiance to *Maud* the Empress (b), which shews that *Stephen's* Friends were forced to use Fraud and Perjury before they could alienate the People from the right Heir: and after all, this elected King is commonly called an *Usurper*. And therefore the Loyal Party

of

of the *English*, all *Stephen's* time, laboured by force of Arms to advance *Henry the Second* (the right Heir) to the Crown, and forced this elected Intruder to acknowledge in an Assembly of Bishops and Nobles, that *Henry had the hereditary right to the Crown of England* (c). And upon the Peace made between them, *Henry did graciously condescend that King Stephen* (if he pleased) might possess the Kingdom peaceably during his own life (d), provided he quietly resigned it to *Henry at his death* (e). So that he reigned by *Henry's* Grant, and the old Historian saith, *Stephen did never Reign justly till now* (f); all which manifests the impudence of the late Author of the *History of Succession*, who saith, *Neither of the parties had any other colour of right to the Crown, than what the consent of the People gave them* (g); which is so notoriously false, that *King Henry* never owned any Title by election, and it was granted by all, that *Henry* was the undoubted Heir of the Kingdom. *The Succession of the Crown of England belonged to the Earl of Anjou, in right of his wife* (h): and again, *Henry would no longer be defrauded of the Kingdom of England, which by his Mothers right belonged to him* (i); and upon *Stephens* death, *He received his hereditary Kingdom without diminution* (k); yea upon his first arrival, before his Coronation he received the Fealty of the Nobles at *Winchester*, as being then the rightful King of this Land (l); which abundantly proves, that this Kingdom was not reputed Elective, and that *King Henry the Second* came in as the Heir of the right Blood: Yet still the false writer of the *History of Succession* confidently says, *King Henry remembring by what Title he got the Crown, and desiring to secure it to his Son in the same manner, summons a Parliament at Oxford, and procures his Son to be declared King together with*

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himself

(c) *Mat. Westm.*
An. 1153.(d) *Mat. Paris.*
pag. 86.(e) *Forvalleus.*
col. 1037.(f) *Idem ibid.*(g) *History of*
Succession, p. 4.(h) *Forval.*
col. 1025.*Guliel. New-*
brig. l. 1. col. 29.(i) *Ib.* col. 1036.(k) *Ibid.* col.
1043.(l) *Geru. Doreb.*
col. 1376.

(m) *History of
Succession*, p. 4,
8cc.

(n) *Gerv. Do-
rob.* col. 1412.

himself by their consent (m); and for this he cites *Gervase of Canterbury*: but that old Author relates it quite otherwise, for he tells us (n), the King summoned the Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Governours, and Aldermen, to appear at *London* with their Sureties, upon which they were in great fear, not knowing the Kings intent: But when they came, he first Knighted his Son, and presently to the wonder of all, *He commanded him to be Anointed and Crowned King; and the new King being Crowned by his Fathers Command, received the Fealty of the Nobles, and they returned home freed from their Fears.* By which it appears, that the King of *England* did absolutely dispose of the Crown in time of Parliament, and did not once ask their consent, or suffer them to debate it, but commanded it to be done, and was obeyed therein.

(o) *History of
Succession*, p. 5.

(p) *R. Hovedel,*
pag 372.

Two other notorious Falshoods there are in the next page of this Pamphlet, concerning this *Henry* and his Son *Richard*: First, That upon the death of young *Henry*, his Father *Henry* the Second was glad to get the *Succession* confirmed to *Richard* his next Son in his life time (o): whereas King *Henry* had smarted so severely by declaring his Heir, that neither force nor intreaty could ever prevail with him to do it, till within a few days before his death, and then being compelled, *He, promised his Barons should do homage to Richard as his Heir* (p). But this Promise was made in *France*, not by any consent of Parliament, and was never performed, for the King died of grief within a week after. A second falshood is his citing *Ralf de Diceto*, to prove, *Richard* the first was made King *Post tam Cleri quam Populi solennem & debitam electionem*; but he designedly leaves out these words in the same Sentence, *Hæreditario jure promovendus*

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in Regem, for the whole passage is this, Richard came over to be promoted King by right of Inheritance, after the solemn and due election of the Clergy and People (q), which words, if this fraudulent Author had not concealed, it would have been plain, that the Election there mentioned was no more than the recognizing the right Heir, as Tenants attorn to a new Landlord. And to manifest that Richard was King before his coming over or Coronation, his Mother, Queen Eleanor, immediately upon King Henry's death, caused all the Free-men of England, wherever she came, to swear Allegiance to her Son Richard (r).

(q) Radul. de Diceto, col. 647.

(r) Rog. Hoveden, pag. 373. Forval. col. 1156.

After the death of King Richard the First, his Brother King John, by the consent of many Bishops and Nobles, was Crowned King; but the same Historian saith, Many adhered to Arthur, (his Nephew) as to their natural Lord, and the right Heir of England (s), and Arthur as the right Heir aimed at the Crown; yea King John was much afraid when Arthur's Friends declared, It was Custom Law and Equity, that the Son of his elder Brother should have that Patrimony which would have fallen to his Father, if he were then alive (t); and he was much more afraid when Arthur himself to his Face boldly Claimed the Kingdom of England, and all the Lands of King Richard as due to him by Hereditary right, Matth. Par. An. 1203. p. 208. which fear of King John shews, how falsely as well as blasphemously the Author of the History of Succession saith, pag. 5. That King John thought his Parliamentary Title more sure than his Nephews Divine right, For 'tis well known King John was not at ease till he had murdered his Nephew; And till he was Crowned a Second time after his Nephews death, Matth. Par. Pag. 208. and Knighton saith, notwithstanding his Parliamentary Title,

(s) Forval. col. 1281.

(t) Forval. col. 1282.

(u) Knighton,
Chron. col.
2425.
(w) Idem col.
2413.

(x) Mat. Paris.
pag. 197.

(y) History of
Succession, p. 5.

tle, *This John came unjustly to the Kingdom, for he murdered Arthur, who by hereditary right ought to have had the Crown of England* (u); and elsewhere he saith, *John feared the Nobles of England would not admit him to the Kingdom, because they had a nearer Successor* (w) 'Tis true, *Hubert the Archbishop did much promote this election of King John, and after gave this reason for it, That he foresaw this John would bring the Realm to much misery, and that he might not be at liberty to do mischief, he chose to bring him in by Election, rather than by hereditary Succession* (x); which plainly intimates, *Hubert thought that a King elected by the People might be turned out again by them for misgovernment. And our Pamphlet of Succession observes the same thing* (y), which may be a fair warning to all Kings to take heed of accepting their Crowns by popular election. And King *John* also was aware of this it seems, for in that Charter of his (cited by the Pamphlet in the fifth Page) he saith, *He came to the Crown by right of Inheritance, together with the unanimous consent and favour of the Clergy and People; thus he pretended, and even by that Pretence declares, he would gladly be owned as the right Heir, and his placing that first, shews he liked it better than his Parliamentary Title. And indeed King John found no stability in his Parliaments, for they soon repented their choice, and upon Arthur's death, they (with respect to the right of Heirship) sent to Lewis, Son to the King of France (who had married Arthur's only Sister and Heir) to accept the Crown; but that project also was defeated, and the mischiefs which happened in the Reign of this elected King, are sufficient to shew how ill a thing it is to break the Chain of Succession.*

King John dying, Constituted Henry his eldest Son Heir of the Kingdom, saith Matth. of Westminster, An.

1216. * this *Henry the Third* was then but nine years old, yet the Earl Marshal tells the Nobles, they ought to submit to him, *because he was the Kings Son, and was to be their Lord and Successor to the Kingdom* (x); to whom the Kingdom was due, *so that it were an Impious thing to defraud him of it*, Polyd. Virg. lib. 16. Pag. 289. and he was declared King by a private Assembly of Peers, not by any Parliament: For indeed *Lewis of France* had the Parliamentary Title then; but that was so little valued, that when this *Lewis* commanded *Hubert de Burgh* to deliver up *Dover Castle* to him, because his Master King *John* was dead; *Hubert* replied, *If my Master be dead, he hath Sons and Daughters who ought to succeed him* (a). So that *Henry the Third* enjoyed the Crown many years, and left it to his eldest Son *Edward*: for the story of *Edmund Crouch-Backs* being the Eldest, and put by for deformity, was a meer Fable, devised to colour over the *Lancastrian* Title, as *Polydore Virgil* and others assure us, Polyd. Virg. p. 320.

King *Edward the First* was the *First-born Son of Henry the Third*, Knighton Col. 2461. and at his Fathers death was in the *Holy Land*; yet so fully was the Kingdom owned to be hereditary then, that *the Earls of Gloucester and Warren, with the Clergy and People*, (not assembled in Parliament, but met at the Funeral) went with speed to the high Altar of the Church of Westminster, and swore Allegiance to *Edward the Kings eldest Son*, though they knew not at all whether he were then living, saith a Monk of that Church at that time (b); which is as full a proof of this Crowns being hereditary as can be desired. After this *Edward*, his eldest Son *Edward the Second* regularly succeeded (without asking any consent of Parliament) meerly as his Father's Heir, and therefore as he was not made,

* Matth. Paris, An. 1216. pag. 288.

(x) Knighton, Chron. col. 2426.

(a) Mat. Paris. pag. 289.

(b) Mat. Westm. An. 1272.

(c) Knighton,
Chron. col.
2550.

(d) Idem ib.
2630.

so he could not be rightly deposed by Parliament. 'Tis true, there was a kind of Resignation made by *Edward* the Second to his Son and Heir *Edward* the Third, *By which* (saith one Old Writer) *the right to the Kingdom immediately the same day devolved to Edward the Third* (c); and therefore he reckons him King before his being Crowned? but that resignation being forced, doubtless *Edward* the Third was no lawful King till after this Fathers death. After this *Edward*, *Richard* the Second succeeded his Grandfather, by right of Inheritance, and also by the common consent of every man (d); and *Polydore Virgil* (an Historian of no great credit) here cited by the Pamphleteer only saith, the *Parliament declared Richard to be King who was the right Heir*; which no way hurts the Hereditary right. But this Seditious Author of the *History of the Succession*, pag. 6th. and 7th. largely reports the deposing of *Edward* the Second, and *Richard* the Second, by Parliament, and seems to justify those Acts, and indeed his Principles do allow such accursed proceedings; and no doubt the Principles and matters of Fact also were now published to make the People believe they had such a Power, and whither such practises tend, I leave it to all Loyal Subjects to judge.

Henry the Fourth came in upon the deposition of King *Richard*, and the Pamphlet saith, pag. 7. *The Parliament made him King*; But I must ask what Parliament? not King *Richard*'s sure, for if he were deposed, they were *ipso facto* dissolved, and become no Parliament; not *Henry*'s Parliament, for our Author doth suppose he was no King till they chose him, yet till he was King he could not make them a Parliament; so that this false Opinion of a Parliaments making a King of *England*, is as ridiculous a Circle

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as the *Colliers Faith*. But as to *Henry the Fourth*, the Record tells us, *When the Kingdom was vacant by the resignation of Richard, Henry the Fourth stood up and claimed the Crown as due to him by right of Inheritance, threatening by force to subdue any should oppose him (e)*. (e) Rot. Parl. ap. Knighton, col. 2757. And the Parliament did not so properly choose, as submit to him: But since his pretence by Blood was so weak, no wonder if he desired to have it strengthened by voluntary consent of Parliament, in order to secure it to his Son *Henry the fifth*; yet after all, as soon as our old Writers durst speak truly, they frequently called all this Race, *Usurpers*, and say that *Henry the Fourth* by force invaded and got the Kingdom, *Polyd. Virg.* pag. 320. and pag. 429. But as to the swearing of Allegiance to *Henry the Fifth* before he was Crowned, the Pamphlet and *Polydore Virgil* too are grossly mistaken to think it was never done before, for we have proved it was done to *Henry the Second, Richard, and Edward the First*.

The Heroick Acts of *Henry the Fifth* engaged the Nobility to promote his Son *Henry the Sixth* to succeed him, in manifest wrong to the House of *York*, who, as soon as they got Friends and Power, involved the Nation in a Sea of Blood to recover their right, without any regard to the *Lancastrian* Parliamentary Title; yea, *Richard Duke of York* pleaded, *That all those Statutes which settled the Crown on King Henry the Fourth, and his Issue, were of no force or effect against him who was right Inheritor of the said Crown, according to the Laws of God and Nature (f)*; and (f) Rot. Parl. 39 Hen 6. num. 10. when his party prevailed in the Field, he got a Parliament to settle the Crown on him after *Henry's* decease: which Act was again repealed, and the Crown settled on *Henry* and his Heirs: so tottering-ly doth that Crown stand which hath no other basis but

(g) Stat. 1 Ed.
4. cap. 4.

but *Popular Consent*. Finally, when the House of York by force got their right, then a Parliament declares, *None of these Three Henry's ever were rightful Kings*, and that Act calls them always *late pretended Kings* (g); yet they had as good right as Parliaments could give them, which it seems in the Opinion even of a Parliament, cannot make a rightful King when there is a nearer Heir in blood.

Richard the Third is commonly call an *Usurper*, though (as our Pamphlet speaks, pag. 9.) he had *that great and sure Title by Act of Parliament*; yet some cannot understand how that Convention which made *Richard* King, could properly be a Parliament, unless he were a King before they chose him, and made them so. But suppose they were a Parliament, they pretend, *That Edward the Fourths Children were Bastards, the Duke of Clarence and his Issue disabled by Treason, and then they declare Richard to be King, as the next uncorrupted and lawful heir of the House of York*: which pretences, though false, do shew they desired it should be believed, that *Richard* had a better Title by Blood, than he could have by their election, which they thought would signifie little, if they had not pretended he was the right Heir; wherefore this Kingdom was even then thought *hereditary*. And here I must note by the way, that this *History of the Succession*, pag. 9. cites a Parliament Roll, saying, *The same Lord the King (Richard) by the assent of the said Three Estates of the Kingdom, &c.* that is, *of the Lords Spiritual, Temporal, and Commons*, which were Named just before: and Mr. Petyt in his right of the Commons, pag. 80. cites another Record, 9 of *Henry the 5th*, proving that the Prelates, Nobles, and Commons, were then reckoned *the Three Estates of France*: which testimonies being delivered by two Friends

Friends to the Republick Principles, will I hope satisfie those of that Party, that the King is not one of the three Estates, and that none of them hereafter will tell us of his being co-ordinate with the other two Estates, a Principle used to justifie the last Rebellion, and now revived by some Persons for very ill purposes.

But to proceed, King *Henry* the Seventh got the Crown by Conquest, and his best Title was by the marriage of the Daughter of *Edward* the Fourth, and right heir of the House of *Tork* (though his envy to that Line would not let him acknowledge it) and upon his death, his Son and Heir *Henry* the Eighth was the lawful and true Successor by Blood to the Crown of *England*, and therefore without staying for any consent of the People he was proclaimed King at his Father's Funeral, and he both chose his Privy Council, and did many other Acts of Royal Power before his Coronation, which was deferred above two Months. And when there was some doubt about his having issue Male, he did not resort to the Parliament (as the Pamphlet of the *Succession*, pag. 11th pretends) but they resort to him, as believing the Power of providing, for the Succession was in him, as the words of the Statute import. *We therefore, Most rightful and dread Sovereign Lord, reckon our selves much more bounden to beseech and instant Your Highness, to foresee and provide for the perfect Surety of both you and of your most lawful Succession and Heirs. Yea that very Statute mentions, the right legality of the Succession and Posterity of the lawful Kings and Emperours of this Realm; complaining, that the Bishops of Rome, contrary to the great and inviolable grants of Jurisdictions by God immediately to Emperours, Kings, and Princes, in Succession to their Heirs, have presumed in*

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times past to invest who should please them to inherit other men Kingdoms, which things (say they) we your most humble Subjects, both Spiritual and Temporal do most abhor and detest. Stat. 25 Hen.8. Chap.22. Whence it is plain this Parliament owned the providing for the Succession to be a part of the King's Prerogative, and blamed the Pope for pretending to it; and sure they would not blame the Pope for this fault, if they had been guilty of it themselves. Again, when the Crown was entailed on the Kings Issue by Queen Jane, another Statute saith, the Crown shall descend to these Children and their Heirs one after another, by course of Inheritance according to their Ages, as the Crown of England hath been accustomed, and ought to go. Stat. 28 Hen.8. Chap. 7. And for the power of Nomination declared to be in the King, in case these Heirs failed; this Statute doth not delegate any such power to the King, but acknowledges he hath this Power, and is a kind of Promise that the People shall submit to it. And the truth is, this Kings Parliaments were so far from prescribing to him in any thing as to the Succession, that they constantly took directions from him what to do in that case, and altered as often as his mind changed; Stat. 35 H.8.c.1. But it is somewhat strange, that the Author of the History of the Succession, pag. 12. should affirm that Lethington, Secretary of Scotland, allows these Acts of Parliaments (which declare it to be in King Henry's power to dispose of the Crown as he pleased) were valid when they were once done. For Lethington (whose Letter may be seen in Dr. Burnet's Collections, Part 1. pag. 268.) saith, What equity and justice was that, to disinherit a Race of foreign Princes of their possibility and maternal right, by a Municipal Law and Statute made in that (which some would term) abrupt time, and say that that would rule the roast; yea and to exclude

clude right Heirs from their Title, without calling them to answer, or any for them. Well it may be said, that the injury of the time, and the indirect dealing, is not to be allowed; but since it is done it cannot be avoided, unless some circumstances material do annihilate the said limitation and disposition of the Crown. Thus far he who very plainly declares he thinks those Statutes unjust and unreasonable, and made in an abrupt time, which were used to exclude right heirs from the Crown. Yet if the *English* would insist on them, then he must be forced to disprove the pretended limitation of the Crown made upon these Statutes, which he there undertakes to do, and shews, that besides the injustice of the Statutes in themselves, there was no sufficient evidence that *Hen.* the 8th. did ever make that arbitrary disposition of the Crown, which was pretended.

As for King *Edward* the Sixth, he was the true and right Heir to the Crown, and did not come in by any popular election, yet when he attempted to break the Succession, and give the Crown away to one who was not the right Heir, he only drew that young Lady *Jane Grey* into a speedy ruine; for his Sister *Mary*, the eldest Daughter of his Father, did succeed him notwithstanding all the provision made against it. 'Tis true, Queen *Maries* Mothers marriage was null, and therefore perhaps her best Title was from the Parliament: But Queen *Elizabeths* Mother being the first Lawful wife that King *Henry* had, she wisely and warily claimed the Crown by descent, as undoubted Heir to King *Henry* the Eighth, and King *Edward*. And though she permitted her first Parliament to declare this, yet they do not pretend to give her any title by their election, or otherwise; for they say, *they think in their hearts, and confess with their mouths, that her Majesty really is, and of meer right ought to be by the*

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Laws of God and of the Land, their most rightful and lawful Sovereign Liege Lady and Queen, and that she is rightly, lineally and lawfully descended of the Blood Royal, and in and to her Princely Person and her Heirs, without all doubt the Imperial Crown of this Realm, with all pertaining thereto, are rightly and really invested and annexed, & they desire it may be enacted they do recognize this right to be in her Highness and her Heirs. Stat. 1 Eliz. Chap. 3. which is a very plain acknowledgment, they believed the Crown of *England* was to pass by lineal Succession and Descent. Indeed her remaining unmarried, occasioned many Pretenders by various claims to be talked of as next Heirs, which might have created some disturbances, and have brought some hazards on the *Queens* person; and therefore when there were many Titles, and it was not perhaps so very clear whose was the best, there the *Queen* regnant and her Parliament were to determine the doubt, and this occasioned those two Statutes of the 13th of *Eliz.* and 27th *Eliz.* concerning the Succession, which do not belong to the excluding the right Heir where there is no Competitors, and are imperinently alledged to that purpose in our present case. And it is very certain, that *Queen Elizabeth* would never suffer her Parliament to limit the Succession, and she once committed two Commoners for moving that business; which shews, she did not think a Parliamentary Title to be necessary, for she only declared on her Death-bed who was the right Heir, viz. King *James* of *Scotland*, and to him by right of Succession the Crown came.

Upon the same day that *Queen Elizabeth* died, without any popular Election, King *James* was Proclaimed, and did all Acts of Regal Power for four Months

Months before his Coronation, nor did his first Parliament give him any new Title, but only did declare, that upon Queen *Elizabeths* death the Crown of *England, &c.* did by inherent Birth-right, and lawful and undoubted Succession come to King James, as being lineally, justly and lawfully next and sole Heir of the Blood Royal of this Realm. Stat. 1 *Jacob.* Cap. 1. yea they do there derive his Pedigree from *Henry* the Seventh, and Queen *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Edward* the Fourth, not upon the account of any special Parliamentary entail made in *Henry* the Sevenths time (as the Pamphlet of *Succession*, pag. 14. pretends, to perswade the People, that his present Majesties Title relies only on an Act of Parliament;) but they derive King *James* his descent in blood, from that Prince and his Lady, because the two Houses of *Tork* and *Lancaster* united in them; and there can be no clearer acknowledgment that this Kingdom is hereditary, and that King *James* came in purely as right Heir, than that very Act of Recognition, 1. *Jacobi*, Cap. 1. How King *Charles* the first, and our present Gracious Sovereign came to the Crown by right of Inheritance, many yet alive can well remember, and none have been so bold to pretend they had their Titles from popular Election, since the Rebels made use of that false pretence to colour over their deposing and murdering our late Royal Martyr; whose lamentable Tragedy sufficiently shews the mischief of these pernicious Principles concerning the Succession and Rights of Princes; and the effects of them in 48, are enough to make this Nation for ever dread and abhor them.

Thus I have from the best Historians given a true account of the Succession of the Crown of *England*, and I hope it doth evidently appear by all this, that
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the right Heir by Blood ever did, or always ought to inherit, and though Might did sometimes overcome Right, yet where there wanted a good Title by descent, no Election or Act of Parliament could hinder those Intruders from being called and counted *Usurpers*, yea our very Parliaments have declared this Kingdom to be hereditary, and the mischiefs of altering the right Line have been great and very manifest: So that all these things do make the *Loyal Addressors* esteem they are bound to Thank His Majesty, that he hath resolved he will not consent to alter the Succession, it being contrary to right Reason, to Law, to Equity, to all laudable Precedents, to the Prerogative of the Crown, yea and to the Interest of the People too, to make the Succession arbitrary and uncertain, which is a sure way to involve this Nation in Blood and endless Quarrels upon every change; a consequence so sure and so dreadful, that no bare possibilities of future danger, nor pretences of seeming expedience, can justify either the honesty or the prudence of such an Act.

But since the last refuge of such as would alter the Succession, is the prudence and the expedience of it in our case, I will observe, that if it be not lawful (as is before fully proved) then it can never be truly prudent or expedient; and since our *Petitioners* blame the *Jesuits*, for allowing the doing *evil* that *good* may come thereon, they must not practise what they condemn. And besides, if it be calmly considered perhaps it is not so very expedient as some men fancy: For the dangers and mischiefs that attend altering the Succession, such as fierce and bloody Civil Wars upon a change, multitude of Pretenders, irreconcilable Divisions, which will end in Democracy, or expose us to a Foreign Force, are greater and surer than any Evils we can suffer from our Natural Prince. And as
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to our circumstances, His Majesty may have Children by this, or another Wife, or he may survive His Royal Highness; or if the Crown do descend upon him, he may either declare himself *Protestant*, to which (we shall shew presently) he hath many strong Inducements; or however he may resolve not to attempt the setting up a different Religion, since that cannot be done without altering the whole frame of our Government, and without such force, as will not be very consistent with his Royal Highnesses's generous nature or his quiet; considering the bitter hatred that this Nation generally hath to that Religion. Now if any of these things happen, there is no necessity of a Bill of Exclusion, and we do a certain mischief to our selves to prevent one that may never come upon us.

Again, It is not certain that such an Act, if it were passed, would obtain that effect which the Promoters of it design; for what Heir with a just Title was ever excluded by a bare Act of Parliament, if he had either Friends, or Power to obtain the Crown? And if he prevail, such an Act may give colour and provocation to that Persecution which it pretends to prevent: and if His Royal Highness should not prevail, we then inevitably fall into Democracy or Anarchy, which are the worst and most intolerable sorts of Tyranny. Besides, the next Heirs to His Royal Highness are good *Protestants*, and to exclude them were inhumane and unjust; yet if one of them succeed, it can scarce be expected they should manage a Quarrel against the Root they sprung from, upon a Principle that makes their own Title questionable, and their own Heirs liable upon any popular disgust to be excluded also.

Finally therefore, It seems strange when (besides
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all the ill consequences of this project, and all the Reasons given to prove it, unlawful) his Majesty hath solemnly declared he will never consent to it; yet some men will hearken to no other expedient for our safety. Doubtless the Proposals made by his Majesty, to secure us from the evils feared from a *Popish Successor*, with a gracious Promise to consent to them, or any other method desired, which would not undermine the Monarchy and alter the Succession; were more honest in themselves, and more easie to be obtained, yea with the concurrence of God's Providence they were more likely to secure our Government and Religion, than any Act of Exclusion could have done: For whereas it is pretended all these Acts, for limiting the exercise of Royal Power in some particulars, would be born down by force: I reply, So might an Act of *Exclusion* be also, and that Act would provoke and justify all forceable methods, much more than these Limitations, which might have been made (it is believed) with his Royal Highness's own assent, and would have proved as good an expedient for his own quiet, as for the Nations peace and satisfaction: but since these Considerations properly belong to his Majesty and his Parliament, those in a privat capacity are not to meddle with them: It being their proper duty to apply themselves to God by Prayer, that he will by his Providence direct our Governours, and secure our excellent Religion, for it is in his power by various methods (unknown to us) yet to make us safe and happy: And if we do not so far distrust his Providence, as to do ill things upon pretence of our own security, we shall oblige him to take care of us, so as it shall go well with us at last.

After all this some men have no mind to understand,

stand, how the adhering to the Succession in our circumstances, can consist with our affection to the Protestant Religion; which they pretend his Royal Highness will certainly persecute, and labour to extirpate, if ever he come to the Crown: and indeed some who usurp the name of *Protestants* have seemed to provoke him so to do. If Protestant Religion were an enemy to Princes Rights, there were some colour for this Objection: but no Religion in the World teaches and practises more Loyalty than that which is truly called *Protestant*: and we doubt not, but that if ever his R. H. should attain the Crown, he will easily distinguish betwixt the Principles and Practices of those who dissent from the established Protestant Religion, and those who strictly adhere to it; nor will he blame our Church for that which was the Opinion of those who endeavoured to subvert it, after they had renounced all Communion with it. His R. H. well knows how constantly the Church-Protestants have adhered to His Rights for Conscience sake, though against that which others called their Interest. He cannot but have observed what reproaches and injuries they have sustained upon that account; and he is too generous to use that power which he may have, to procure their Ruine, who have done their best to prevent His. And though to make the true Sons of this Church more odious, the Sectaries and Republicans have represented them all as *Papists*, or *Popishly affected*, on purpose to enrage the multitude against them; yet his R. H. and all the World may see, they give his Majesty most hearty Thanks for promising to defend the Protestant Religion by Law established, in which they resolve to live and die. So that while they do deservedly love and honour the Dukes per-

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sonal worth, and abet his undoubted Rights, they do yet upon unanswerable grounds renounce that which is said to be his Religion. And indeed they have so much Reason, and so many Arguments, not only to love the *Protestant* Religion themselves, but to recommend it to the good Opinion of his Royal Highness, that they are so far from believing so brave a Prince will Persecute this Religion, that they both pray that he may, and hope that he will declare himself of the same Persuasion: which many wise Men conclude he had never seemed to desert, but for the repeated exasperations he received from some who pretended to it. And now as well for vindicating the *Addressors* from the false Character of being *Popishly affected*, as for the promoting so desirable a thing as the return of his Royal Highness to the established Religion; I shall lay down some of the most material Considerations, both those which fix us unalterably in the *Protestant* Religion, and also those which may reasonably invite his Royal Highness himself to joyn with us therein; which I hope may be to the general satisfaction of all sincere *Protestants*, and truly loyal Subjects, and may not want their desired effect upon his Royal Highness.

First, As to those general Reasons that confirm us in the *Protestant* Religion, and arm us against all solicitations to *Popery*, we lay this down for our Foundation, *That our Souls are to be preferred before any worldly Interest; and since that which is the truest Religion, is the most certain way to bring our Souls to eternal happiness, we will never be enticed by any short and transient worldly advantages, nor terrified by any bodily Sufferings, to leave that Religion which we are assured is the true and certain way to everlasting happiness.*

Supporting each other.

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happinefs. And this Assurance is built upon these Arguments.

The present Religion of the *Church of England* is no new device of ours, but the very same that our Lord Jesus and his Apostles have left upon Record, in that Book which our Adversaries confess to be the Word of God; wherein we are sure, He that is to save us, hath laid down all things necessary to Salvation, as also the Scriptures themselves and the Holy Fathers constantly teach. We believe those Three Ancient Creeds, which whosoever believed of old, were not reputed *Hereticks*. We receive the first four General Councils, and all other Councils and Fathers for the first Four hundred years, while the Church remained uncorrupted: And there is not any one Article which we believe, as of necessity to salvation, that was not believed in all Ages, and which is not now believed by all the Christians in the World, even those of *Rome* also. And all that we reject are Innovations and Opinions of later Ages, or of some particular Sect of Christians, superinduced in the Times of Ignorance and Superstition. So that our Learned King *James* of Blessed memory, (who understood the differences betwixt Us and *Rome* the best of any Prince in *Europe*,) did solemnly declare in Print (a), (a) Prefat. monitor. ad Apolog. pro Juram. fidel. pag. 62. That whensoever any Article of that Religion He professed, should be shewed to be New, or lately invented, and not Ancient Catholick, and Apostolick, (namely in matters of Faith) He would presently forsake it. For the proof of these Doctrines of our Religion we appeal to Scripture, on which we do not impose a sense of our own, but by consulting the Originals, and the Expositions of Primitive Fathers, by firm Arguments, and fair consequences, we approve to every mans reason the sense we give to be

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the best. Nor do we deny any man the liberty of making use of the best means he is capable of, to understand our Doctrine, or the Scripture on which it is grounded. We do not fly the Light, nor fear the Touch-stone, for no man can like a Religion of God's prescribing the worse, for his frequent reading and clearly understanding God's Word. We never built any Article of Faith upon the tottering Foundation of *pretended Miracles*, and *Fanatick Revelations*; nor saw it needful to abuse the Manuscripts of *Councils* and *Ancient Fathers*. Our cause needs no forged Evidence; nor do we impose our Faith upon any by Capital punishments, for want of better Arguments. As for the penalties inflicted on Dissenters by our Laws, they are rather for disturbing the Peace of the Civil Government, than for differing from us in Judgment. And if these Methods be judged less Politick, I am sure they have more of Gospel simplicity in them, more conformity to the great Example of *Jesus*, and more evidence that our Cause is good, and that we have no sinister ends to serve by it. We indeed gain nothing by any one Article of our Religion, but the salvation of those who believe them, and live according to them; and whoever doth so, hath Gods Word as well as ours, that he shall be everlastingly happy.

We do enjoy all those means that God hath appointed to make us holy here, and happy hereafter; we have a true and regular succession of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, (which are all the Orders that the Apostles instituted) solemnly ordained; we have Prayers, Sermons, Sacraments, and all the essential Offices for Salvation, duly administred in a Primitive and Pious manner, in our own Mother Tongue in Publick; and we may have without any charge,
Ghostly

Ghostly counsel and comfort in any of our Needs from our Clergy; who are the most Learned, Laborious, and Pious, (take them generally) of any Ministers in the Christian World. We have great variety of Practical Books for informing us in our Duty, and assisting us in our Devotion; nor can we want any helps to make us good, if we have but inclinations thereunto. So that it is not to be wondred, if we promise to his Sacred Majesty to live and die in this most holy and true Religion.

On the other side, we have seen it unanswerably proved by divers of our late Learned Writers for the *Protestant Faith*, That the Religion of *Rome* (where it is not the same with ours) hath all the suspicions imaginable that it is false and most fallacious: For they of that Church ground their peculiar Doctrines, not on any publick, written, certain Record; but on pretended Traditions orally delivered to them, which none know but themselves; nor do they offer any proof of them, but their own word, which ought not to be taken in their own Cause; especially since divers of these pretended Traditions were not heard of for the first Five or Six hundred years. And particularly that of the *Pope's Supremacy* was utterly unknown to Two of the first four General Councils; and to one of their most famous old Popes, *Gregory the Great*, who is very angry when the Patriarch of *Alexandria* calls him, *Universal Bishop*, and saith, *No man ought to give that Title to him; and that to give him more than his due, was to wrong all other Patriarchs.* *Greg. Magn. Lib. 7. Epist. 30.* And indeed these Traditions began to be pretended, and the New Doctrines to be set up, in those Ages wherein there were few competent Judges of them. When scarce any could read the *Scriptures* or *Greek Fathers*

(b) Præfat. ad
libr. Pastoral.
Gregorii.

(c) Baron. An-
nal. An. 900.

(d) Agobardus,
Episc. Lugdun.
lib. De grandi-
ne, &c. An. 900.

(e) De Sacerd.
lib. 4.

(f) De verâ
Relig. cap. 25.

in their Original, nor hardly write true Latin. When in this Nation there was not one Priest on the South of *Thames*, could give the meaning of the usual Service in *English*, and few on the North of it could read it, as King *Alfred* tells us (b). The next Age to which, was called the *dark Age*, as being destitute of Learned Writers (c). In such Times we may guess, how easie it was to impose the most notorious falsehoods upon the credulous and undiscerning World, by what an Author then writes; So great folly (saith he) now oppresseth the miserable World, that at this day more absurd things are believed by Christians, than ever any could impose upon the blind Pagans (d). And then it was, that the Pope's Supremacy, Purgatory, Saying of *Masses* for Souls there, Worshipping Images, Formal Invocation of Saints, Adoration of Relicks, Indulgences, Transubstantiation, &c. began to be practised and decreed. And most of them were proved by absurd Fictions of ridiculous and counterfeit Miracles, there being not any footsteps of true ones by the express Testimonies of St. *Chrysostom* (e), and St. *Augustine* (f), left in their times, i. e. about the year 400; after which all the Popes Miracles were affirmed to be wrought, which (with the Doctrines they pretend to prove) they propagated by lying Legends, which served the Ignorant and easie World then; but are now made appear to be so palpably false, that the *Jesuits* of late have been forced to excuse them under the Name of *Pious frauds*, though indeed they were *Impious Cheats*: designed to set up Doctrines that might enrich the Church, and rob the People of their Mony and Souls too.

Not unlike to this is their shameful corrupting of Ancient Authors, to make them seem on their side, expunging, adding to, and altering those venerable Records

Records as they think good; which they call *purg-
ing them from Heretical pravity*. And this is one of
the Works of the *Holy Inquisition*, as their *Indices Ex-
purgatorii* (now in our keeping) do testify (g). And
by this device several Sheets of St. *Ambrose*, in one
of the Editions, were wholly either left out, or recti-
fied according to their Fancies; as an Eyewitness,
who saw the Copy in printing, assures us (h). And
what they have done with other Evidences of Anti-
quity, our Learned Countryman Dr. *James* hath in-
formed us (i). Were their Cause good, there would
be no occasion to stubborn false Witnesses, or stifle the
true, in so notorious a manner as this. Yet lest all this
should not suffice to make their false Doctrines pass
for Truth; they will not allow the plainest Testi-
monies against them, while they cry up the poorest
Evidence that seems to make for them. If we cite
Scripture, they challenge to be the sole Interpre-
ters of it, and then they can make *quidlibet & quo-
libet*. Thus St. *Peters* saying, *Behold here are two
Swords* (even though Christ forbid him to use either)
must pass for a good Proof of the Pope's *Temporal
Power* (k). And, *I lift up mine eyes to the Hills*,
Psal. 121. 1. may serve for *Invocation of Saints* (l).
Or, *Thy face Lord will I seek*, for *Worshipping of
Images* (m). At this rate the Second Command-
ment may be produced for that kind of Worship;
or *1 Cor.* 14. for *Prayers in an unknown Tongue*, though
they expressly forbid them. And where *Scripture* is
flatly against them, as in the matter of the Laities
being denied the Cup, they can set it aside with a
Non obstante (n).

(g) Index Ex-
purg. Belg. per
Er. Jun. Ha-
now. 1611.

Index libr.
prohib. Hisp.
Madrid. 1667.

(h) Junii. præf.
ad Indic. Ex-
purg.

(i) James his
corruption of
Scriptures,
Councils, and
Fathers, print-
ed at London.
1611.

(k) Bonifac. 8.
Extrav. major.
cap. de Obed.

(l) Bellarm. de
Sanct. bent.
c. 17.

(m) Concil.
Nicen. 2. Tom.
18. p. 295.

(n) Concil. Con-
stant. Sess. 13.

ap. Bin. Tom. 3. par. 2. p. 800.

In

(o) Vid. Bin.
not. ad 2. Con-
cil. Constantin.
Tom. 1. par. 1.
pag. 541.
Item not. ad
Concil. Chal-
ced. Tom. 2.
par. 1. pag. 410.
(p) Maldon. in
Matt. 19. 11.
(q) Salmeron.
in Ep. ad Rom.
cap. 5. disp. 51.
p. 468.
(r) Id. Ibid.
(s) Corn. Muff.
Episc. Bitont.
in Rom. 14.
pag. 468.
(t) Gelas. decr.
de Consec.
dist. 2. cap. 12.
(u) Anaclet.
epist. ap. Bin.
Tom. I. par. 1.
pag. 43.
(w) Binius in
Notis, Tom. I.
par. 1. pag. 64.

(x) Capitul.
Carol. Magn.
cap. 88.

(y) John 5. 13.

In the same manner also they deal with the Testimonies of *Councils*, when they agree not to their Opinions. Thus Two of the first four General Councils are in part rejected, for that they oppose the Pope's *Universal Supremacy* (o). And it is usual in their Editions of *Councils*, to have some Printed with this Title, *Reprobatum*; others, *Ex parte Approbatum*. Nor have the *Fathers* better usage, when they are produced to confute their Innovations; for they boldly reject their Authority (p). Salmeron saith, the *later Doctors are sharper sighted* (q); and pronounces of many of them at once, *We must not follow a multitude, to deviate from the Truth* (r), that is from his own Opinion. Yea one of them saith, *He believes the Pope in matters of Faith, before a Thousand Augustines, Hieroms, or Gregories* (s). Yet 'tis ordinary with them to reject the Traditions of old Popes, for those of the new ones. Thus Pope *Gelasius* his Decree of not taking the Bread alone, which he calls *Sacrilege* (t); and that of *Anacletus*, *That all who are present at Mass shall Communicate* (u); and that of *Alexander the Second*, of *Celebrating but one Mass in one day* (w), are now slighted and contradicted. So that in fine, the present corrupt *Roman Church*, conscious of her own Errors, will both be Witness and Judge in her own Cause; contrary to all equity and the old Laws, which ordain, *That they which are brought out of our own House, ought not to be Witnesses for us* (x). And to that Rule which Christ himself was willing to be tried by, *If I bear witness of my self, my witness is not true* (y). All this considered will make it evident, why the *Roman Church* is obliged to establish this Religion, by those two vile Methods, viz. By keeping her easie Profelytes in Ignorance; and persecuting all Dissenters with force and fury.

fury. The Doctrine of *Implicit Faith*, that is, *Believing as the Church believes*, though they know not what it is; and that of *blind Obedience*, in doing whatsoever their Superiors enjoyn, without examining, renouncing their own Judgment, and even their Senses, and delivering up themselves entirely to be guided by their Spiritual Master, so strictly imposed on them, and generally taught by the *Jesuits* (a), and affirmed by a late Pope to be agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church (a). These are visible Artifices to obtrude false Opinions and wicked Practices upon the Sons (or rather Slaves) of that Church, and directly contrary to *St. Paul's* integrity, which bids us *Prove all things*, 1 *Thess.* 5. 21. Their keeping the *Scripture* and *Prayers* in an unknown Tongue, their condemning the Translations of them to be burned, though made by some of their own Party (b); and that famous general Rule prefixed to the *Spanish Index* of prohibited Books: *Let all Bibles be prohibited that are extant in the vulgar Tongue, with all parts thereof in Print or in Manuscript.* Reg. 5. pag. 25. And the putting out all Sentences out of the *Indexes* of the *Fathers*, that sound against them, viz. such as these, *God alone is to be worshipped; Faith only justifies, &c.* for fear their Students should find any thing to confirm the *Protestant Cause* in those Authors. These, I say, may shew how much they fear the trial of their Doctrines, and how necessary a cover *Ignorance* is for their Errors; which occasioned once a *Protestant* to say, when a *Papist* wished, not a man in *England* could read, except a few Priests; *I doubt your wares are bad, you delight so much in a dark Shop.* And one of their own Authors asks, *Will not the People be easily drawn away from observing the Churches Institutions, when they shall perceive,*

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(viz.

(a) Exercit. Spiritual. Ignor. Ley. Reg. 1. p. 138. & Reg. 13. pag. 141. (a) Bulla Paul. 3. prefix. eid. libr.

(b) Extrait du proces. verb. de assemble. gen. du Clerg. de Franc. Ten. à Paris, 1660.

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(viz. by reading the Bible in their own Tongue,) *that they are not contained in the Law of Christ* (c). Hence it is that they are necessitated to impose their Religion by absolute Authority; and for want of Reasons, to Persecute all that cannot believe it. When the *Protestants*, in the first Convocation in Queen *Maries* days, were too hard for their Adversaries, *Weston* the Prolocutor dismissed the Assembly, saying, *You have the Word, but we have the Sword* (d). *Inquisitions, Racks, Fire and Fagot* are requisite Instruments for such a Cause; but *the Truth is not to be pressed with Swords and Arrows, nor with Souldiers and Armed men; but with Perswasion and Council* (e). While the Church was pure, all such Courses were declared unlawful; and the *Hereticks* only used these cruel Methods, or if any other did, the *Catholick Bishops* Excommunicated them (f). Nor did the *Roman Church* ever begin to put Dissenters to death, till their Doctrines were so evidently corrupt, that fear was necessary to awe men into an unwilling submission to them. But the *Popes* were resolved to depopulate the World, rather than let these Doctrines go, because they are all of them so profitable for filling the Churches Treasures; and *Covetousness*, not *Zeal for the Truth*, was in the bottom of all this. For who sees not, that *Pugatory*, and *Prayers for the Dead*, *Relicks*, *Shrines*, *Worshipping of Saints*, *Miracles*, *Indulgences*, *Meriting Heaven by good Works*, *Auricular Confession*, the *Cœlibate of Priests*, *Friars* and *Nuns*, and all the wealthy Consequences of the *Pope's Supremacy*, viz. *Appeals*, *Dispensations*, *Investitures*, *Collations*, *Annats*, &c. are hotly contended for to fill the *Pope's Coffers*; and *Transubstantiation* it self raises the price of *Masses*, and the esteem of *Priests*. We may say of the Pope as *Sr. Hierom*

(c) *Petr. Sutor.*
translat. Bibl.
c. 22. fol. 96:

(d) *Heylin. hist.*
quinquartic.
c. 5. p. 53.

(e) *Athanas. E-*
pist. ad solitar.
vitam ag.
pag. 330.

(f) *Athanas.*
Apol. pro fugâ.
l. Tom 1. p. 716.

Hieron of another Bishop, *The Religion of the whole World is your gain* (g). And it is evident, when all ^{(g) Hieron. adv. Joan. Hieros. T. p. 238.} *Europe* desired a Reformation of these things, it was a strong Argument to the Pope to deny it, for fear *the Church should be reduced to its primitive Poverty* (h). And a great Cardinal of that time utterly dissuaded the Pope from yielding to any compliance with the Proposals of Reformation, saying, that *unless he could live upon St. Peter's Patrimony, he must not think of it; for it was certain, that if his Revenues were divided into Four parts, Three of them, viz. The Profits of the Roman Court; The Revenues from Ecclesiastical Preferments; And the Income from Purgatory, Indulgences, &c. would all be taken from him by this project.* After which the Pope would never consent to it. ^{(h) Confil. trium Episc. ad Paul. 3. apud Wolf. memor. Lect. Tom. 2. pag. 549.}

All which considered, it cannot be expected we should forsake our own Religion, and deliberately choose that of *Rome*, wherein there is nothing differing from our Faith, but what is newly invented, evidently false, and urged upon Men by force, for the vile ends of *Covetousness* and *Ambition*. Our own Eternal Salvation is too dear to us, to be hazarded so apparently: We see abundant of Reason to arm us against all Temptations of turning to the *Roman Church*. And all these Reasons which confirm and secure us in our well chosen Faith, may we hope in time prevail upon his R. H. to declare himself of the same Perswasion, since there is no better way in the World to secure his Eternal Interest, which we hope and believe he values in the first place.

Yet in the Second place, We have divers considerable Motives, which do peculiarly concern his R. H. If we consider him as a Branch of the *Royal Family* from whence He is descended, or as the Person next

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in Succession to the Imperial Crown of this Realm; upon both accounts there are many considerations, which ought to incline him to embrace the *Protestant Religion* established in *England*, and do really give us great grounds of hope he will do so.

First, If his Royal Highness be considered as one of the Principal Branches of that *Royal Family*, which hath so long and so happily Governed this Nation. His Royal Highness himself, and his Progenitors, were Educated in the *Protestant Faith*, and therefore it ought not to be deserted by him without manifest Reason, and a fair hearing on both sides. His Royal Grandfather whose Name he bears, (and may he imitate his Vertues) the Learnedest Prince that ever sat upon the *English Throne*, yea that *Europe* hath had for many Ages; not only Professed, but admirably Defended the *Protestant Religion* in (that lasting Monument) his incomparable Apology for the Oath of *Allegiance*; and his Speeches, Letters, and indeed all his Works do evidently shew he was a true *Protestant* out of Judgment and deliberate Choice, not by the prejudice of Education, which Himself expressly declares (i). Yea he was the Head of the whole *Protestant Party*, and in that Capacity hath this Royal Family been ever since esteemed by all Foreign Reformed Churches. But it is very memorable concerning this Blessed King, that when some Seditious Persons had whispered, *He was inclinable to Popery*, He made this solemn Protestation, in the presence of the Principal of his Privy-Council, *That he would spend the last drop of Blood in his Body before he would forsake the Protestant Faith: And pray'd, that before any of his Issue should maintain any other Religion, than what He truly professed and maintained, God would take them out of the World* (h).

Which

(i) Præfat.
monitor. ad
omn. Monarch.

(h) Judge
Crooks Rep.
part. 2. An. 2.
Reg. Jacob.
pag. 37. printed
Lond. 1659.

Which being the solemn Words of so prudent and sagacious a Prince, the verification of them is justly to be feared by any of his Posterity, that shall make themselves obnoxious to the Fate they portend. For there is a mighty weight in Parents Prayers: and God hath given them this Priviledge, (as St. Ambrose notes) *That the Children might revere them, and that their Parents Prerogative might awe their Issue into duty and observance* (i). Sure I am, His careful and Pious Education of that Most Religious and Excellent Prince, the late King *C H A R L E S*, did evidence to all the World, how earnestly He desired to continue this Religion in his Family for ever. And accordingly all Men can witness, that this Dear and Unparallel'd Father of his Royal Highness was a zealous and sincere *Protestant*, and his very Enemies are now convinced He was not inclined to *Po- pery*. And if any Temporal interest could have bribed him, His great Necessities, and the large Offers of some of that Party, would have Tempted Him to it. But he understood the Truth and Excellency of his own Religion too well, to part with it on any terms: For he saith to the Prince (k), *The best Pro- fession of Religion, I have ever esteemed that of the Church of England, in which You have been Educated.* — *In this I charge You to persevere, as coming nearest to Gods Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive Example for Government.* And His Royal Highness ought to think of his dying Charge there: *But if You never see my face again, I do require and intreat You, as your Father and your King, that you never suffer your Heart to receive the least check or dissatisfaction from the true Religion established in the Church of England. I tell You I have tried it, and after much search and many Disputes,*
have

(i) Ambros. de
 bened. Patri-
 arch. p. 401.

(k) Εἰκον βα-
 σιλ. cap. 27.

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have concluded it to be the best in the world, — keeping the middle-way between the Pomp of Superstitious Tyranny, and the meanness of Fantastick Anarchy. Id. ibid. 230. Yea it was but two days before his death, that he told the Princess *Elizabeth*, *That he should die for maintaining the true Protestant Religion, and charged her to read Bishop Laud's Book against Fisher, to ground her against Popery, Such Charges as these it is not unlikely his Royal Highness also hath personally received from that glorious Martyr; (the best not only of Princes, but of Men,) which ought surely to make a mighty Impression on Him, and cause him to be infinitely careful not to forsake that Religion, the Truth of which, this most Indulgent and most Pious Father of his, sealed with his Blood.*

Especially when it is further considered, how constantly the true Protestants of the Church of *England* have loved, and how faithfully they have served the *Royal Family* in all Fortunes, how closely they have adhered to the Interests thereof upon all occasions. So that whoever were true Sons of this Church, our Kings have alwaies reckoned among their certain and undoubted Friends. And when a Rebellion was designed against the Blessed Father of his Royal Highness, the Contrivers of it found it necessary, first to seduce Men from the Church of *England*, before they could engage them in so wicked an Action. Yea, we have this assurance under the hand of that Royal Martyr, *Scarce any one (saith he) who hath been a beginner, or active prosecutor of this late War, against the Church, the Laws, and Me, was or is a true lover, embracer, or practiser of the Protestant Religion established in England (1).* But we need not to tell his Royal Highness how faithfully

(1) Εἶκον βα-
σιλ. cap. 27.
pag. 230.

fully the Men of this Religion asserted their Kings Interest with their Lives and Fortunes, nor how many of them of all sorts, Nobility, Clergy, Gentry, and Commons, spent their Blood, or their Estates, or both in his Quarrel; choosing rather to part with all that the World counts dear, than with their Loyalty and a good Conscience. And for those that survived under the late Usurpation, and had any thing left, they did out of their Oppressed Fortunes supply their afflicted Sovereign, and with dangerous and restless endeavours laboured for his Happy Restauration. Since which time they have incurred the Hatred of the bigotted *Fanaticks*, for their perpetual standing for the Kings Prerogative, and their zealous promoting His, and His Royal Highness's Interest.

But on the other side, how much Fidelity soever those of the *Romish* Perswasion, may for their own ends now profess to his Royal Highness. It is undeniably evident, they have been the ancient and avowed Enemies of his House and Family, which had never worn the Crown of *England*, if some of that Party could have prevented it by any means. To pass by their innumerable Attempts against the Life of *Queen Elizabeth*, that which more immediately concerns the Family of his Royal Highness, is, That Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth did actually give away the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland* to his two (Sons, or) Nephews ^(m). And his Successor, *Sixtus* the Fifth, again gave away these Dominions to the King of *Spain*, and invited him with (as he thought) an invincible *Armado* to set upon the Conquest of them ⁽ⁿ⁾; which, if it had succeeded, would have prevented the undoubted Right of his Royal Highness's Grandfather.

^(m) *Thuan. lib. 64. Camden. Eliz. An. 1578.*

⁽ⁿ⁾ *Camd. Eliz. An. 1588.*

father King *James*, against whom they had so inveterate a spight, that a little before Queen *Elizabeths* death, Pope *Clement* the 8th sent two *Breves* to the *English Catholicks*, on purpose to excite them to exclude King *James*, or any other from the Crown, except He or They would undertake to promote the *Catholick Interest*, as the King himself assures us, *Apol.* pag. 34. even at the same time, (as the King there observes) when that very Pope made innumerable Promises to his Agents, that he would further his Succession to the utmost of his power. About that time also came out that infamous Libel stiled *Daleman*, written by Father *Parsons*, which loads King *James* with the blackest Calumnies, and Attempts to prove him incapable of the Succession, setting up the Title of the Infanta of *Spain*, An. 1594. From which accursed Book, and the Practices of the *Jesuits* then, some it is likely have learned now to oppose the Succession of His Royal Highness, upon pretence that He agrees not with them in Religion: For the Author of that Book, pag. 14. argues against the Crown of *Englands* being Hereditary, and pleads it ought to be Elective, and would have this to be one Rule for the Election, *That none but a Roman Catholick, of what Blood soever he be, should be admitted King.* And if His Royal Highness be displeased at the Scholars, surely the Masters, viz. the *Jesuits*, deserve more blame: For that divers of that Religion practised by these measures, appears from the Confession of *Thomas Winter* (one that suffered for the *Gunpowder-Treason*;) who acknowledged, that He and *Tesmond*, another *Jesuit*, had contrived to exclude King *James* from the Succession. And *Watson* a Secular Priest hath printed in his *Quodlibets*, pag. 150. *That the Jesuits about that time commonly*

monly said, *If King James would not turn Catholick, they would all die against him.* Finally, When Providence, notwithstanding all their Endeavours, had settled this *Royal Family* in the Possession of their just Rights; and King James was Crowned King of *England*, from that time forward they began to plot the ruine of Him, and his whole Family; witness that accursed *Gunpowder-Treason*, intended to be acted in the Fourth year of his Reign: But (as the Conspirators confessed) was all that four years in Agitation For it was not (as is pretended) either hastily contrived, or only by a few desperate Persons, but the very Case was Printed in *Spain* by a *Catholick* Writer about that time; and he determined, *That if a Confederate discover in Confession, That he or some else have placed Gunpowder, or such like matter under such or such a House, and unless it be removed, the House will be blown up, the Prince destroyed, &c. the Priest however ought not to reveal it (o).* which could aim at nothing but this very Plot, not only then hatching among the Priests, but known to, and approved by the Pope, as King James makes very probable (p). And he affirms also (q), that very many *Papists* of this Kingdom, to whom the whole Secret was not intrusted, did know of a great design in hand for the good of the *Roman Church*, at that meeting of Parliament; and they had *Set Forms of Prayer* for the good success of that weighty business. And though some of that Religion have the Confidence now to deny this Cursed Plot, to have been of the *Papists* laying, yet Father Garnet confessed it freely, plainly, and frequently (r); and so did other of the Traytors; and Sir *Everard Digby's* Letters, now made Publick, own his Knowledge of it (s). Nor did any of them then once pretend, the Plot was

(o) *Delrio* diff. quif. mag. lib. 6. cap. 11. §. 1.

(p) *Reg. Jacob.* Apol. pag. 89.

(q) *Præfat. Monitor* ibid. pag. 8, & 9.

(r) *Præfat. Monitor.* p. 146.

(s) *Hiftor. Gunpowder Treason,* pag. 232.

Lond. 1679.

H

devised

(r) *Barcl. Orat.*
in *Conjur.*
Hist. Provinc.
Angl. Soc. Jesu.
l. 7. p. 310. edit.
An. 1660.

(u) *His Speech,*
Hist. Gunpowd.
Treason, p. 157.

(x) *Campiani*
Epist. ad Con-
cil. Regis Angl.
Treveris An.
1563. pag. 22.

devised by others, and cast upon them. Yea foreign Authors of the *Popish Religion*, both of that Age and this, make no scruple to own it as a true and real Plot, contrived by men of that Religion (r). And verily this alone (if God had not graciously prevented it,) had cut off the whole *Royal Family* at once. As for the other designs of the Activer sort of this Party, what my Lord Coke affirms of his time, I doubt they have verified ever since, viz. *There never passed Four years (since the Jesuits set foot in this Land) without some pestilent and pernicious Treason, tending to the Subversion of the whole State* (u). And no wonder, for an eminent Man of that Order saith, he would have us know *That their Society hath made a Holy League, and solemn Oath, that as long as there was any of them alive, they would destroy Heretical Princes by all means possible* (x), adding, *That they would procure and for ever pursue our ruine, and the utter destruction of our Religion and Kingdom.* And indeed, It is these Professions of theirs, and the Experience of their Practices all along, that makes the most sober and loyal Protestants so fully perswaded of their horrid Design against the Life of his Sacred Majesty that now is. I know it is pretended, they have expiated their Ancient Guilts by their Loyalty to our late King of Blessed Memory; and that some of that Party may be so generous as to despise the Principles, and abhor the Practices of their Priests in that matter, I will not deny; yet let it be considered, that the Foundation of the late Rebellion was laid in *Popish Books*. What *Suarez* and *Mariana* writ about the lawfulness of killing Kings, is well known; and the Traiterous Book called *Philopater* written by *Creswell*, (the *Lieger Jesuit* in *Spain*) applies it in particular to the King of *England*. 'Tis one of that Order also, who advises, as a Means to

to restore *Papery* here, To divide the English, and persuade the Parliament to turn England into a Commonwealth (y). And a *Romish* Priest informs us (z), that Father Parsons writ a Book called *A Memorial for Reformation*, printed at *Sevil* 1596, wherein he lays a Platform for Subverting the English Monarchy, by persuading the People, that they have such a Priviledge, as that it may be lawful for them, when they think meet, to place and displace Kings. But of all other Instances of this kind, none is more clear than that other Book of the same Father Parsons stiled *Doleman*, wherein are laid down all the Principles, upon which the Rebels of England raised and carried on the late Civil War, and murdered the Blessed King CHARLES the first. Yea, all those grounds upon which the late Bill of *Exclusion* of His Royal Highness was built, are found here. And the Pamphlets writ in defence of that Bill, frequently transcribe whole Pages out of this Book called *Doleman*, to justify those proceedings. For proof of which I have here collected some few of those accursed Principles in *Doleman's* own words. *

(y) *Campanella*
de Monarch.
Hispan. p. 204.
(z) *Watson's*
Quodlibets,
pag. 286.

* See this largely and more fully proved, in a late excellent discourse, called "The *Apostate* Protestant," Printed at London. 1682.

The Commonwealth hath power, to choose their own fashion of Government, as also to change it upon reasonable Causes (a).

(a) *Doleman*.
Part. 1. Chap. 1.
pag. 12.

The Commonwealth hath power, not only to put back the next Inheritors upon lawful occasions; but also to dispossess them that have been lawfully put in possession, if they fulfill not the Laws and Conditions, by which, and for which their Dignity was given them (b).

(b) *Ibid.* Ch. 2.
pag. 32.

As the whole Body is of more Authority than the Head only, and may cure the Head if it be out of tune: So may the Weal-publick, cure or cut off their Heads if they infest the rest (c).

(c) *Doleman*,
Chap. 3. p. 38.

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Princes are subject to Law and Order, and the Commonwealth which gave them their Authority for the good of all, may also restrain, or take the same away again, if they abuse it to the Common evil (d).

(d) Ib Chap. 4.
pag. 72.

The whole Body is superiour to the Prince, neither so giveth the Commonwealth her Authority and Power up to any Prince, that she depriveth her self utterly of the same, when need shall require, to use it for her defence, for which she gave it (e).

(e) Ibid. p. 73.

The Princes Power is not absolute, but delegate from the Commonwealth; and is given with such Conditions and Oaths, on both Parties, as if the same be not kept by either party, the other is not bound (f).

(f) Ibid.

The Commonwealth oweth no Subjection or Allegiance unto the Heir apparent, in strict Justice, until he be Crowned and admitted King, though his Predecessor be dead (g).

(g) Ib. Chap. 6.
pag. 133.

The Coronation and Admission maketh a perfect and true King, whatsoever the Title by Succession be otherwise: And except the admission of the Commonwealth be joyned to Succession, it is not sufficient to make a lawful King. And of the two, the Consent and Admission of the Realm are of far more importance than nearness of Blood by Succession (h).

(h) Ibid. p. 136.

Nothing in the World can so justly exclude an Heir Apparent from his Succession, as want of Religion: Nor any cause whatsoever so justifie and clear the Conscience of the Commonwealth, or of particular Men, that in this case should resist his Entrance, as if They judge him faulty in this point (i).

(i) Ib Chap. 9.
pag. 212.

So

So long as I have this Opinion of him, albeit his Religion were never so true,—I should do against my Conscience, and sin damnably in the sight of God, to prefer him to a charge, where he may draw many others to his own error and perdition (k).

(k) Ibid. p. 214.

I do affirm and hold, that for any Man to give his help, consent, or assistance towards the making of a King, whom he judgeth or believeth to be faulty in Religion, and consequently would advance either no Religion, or the wrong, (if he were in Authority) is a most grievous and damnable Sin, to him that doth it, of what side soever the Truth be, or how good or bad soever the Party be that is to be preferred (l).

(l) Ibid. p. 216.

The Cities of France do not amiss, but religiously and justly, to stand against the King of Navarre, (though otherwise by Descent they do confess his Title to be clear and evident) for that he is of a contrary Religion to them (m).

(m) Id. Part 2.
Chap. 10. pag.
239.

These are the Positions of that *Popish* Author, and when these Principles were to be put in Practice, it is very observable, that this wicked Libel of *Doleman* was in part reprinted *Anno* 1648. under the feigned Title of *Several Speeches, delivered at a Conference, concerning the Power of Parliaments to proceed against their Kings for misgovernment.* Nor was it *Doleman* only who spread these poysonous Republican Principles; but *Bellarmino* also affirms, 'Kings may be deposed by their Subjects for many Causes (n). And, 'That the People do never so transfer their Power to the King, but that they habitually retain it still in themselves, and in some cases may reassume it (o). Yea Pope *Zachary* long since declared on the occasion of deposing King *Childeric* of *France*, 'That what-
soever

(n) *Bellarmino*. de
Pontif. lib. 5.
cap. 8.

(o) Idem, *Re-*
cognit. lib. 3.
Qu de Laicis.

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‘soever a King hath, Power, Glory, Riches, Honour
 ‘or Dignity, he receives it from the People, and what
 ‘he receives from them, he must restore to them; The
 ‘People constitute the King, and therefore may de-
 ‘pose him. *Ann.* 752. *Avent. Annal.* lib.3. p. 222. So
 that if the Pope knew the Doctrine of the *Roman* Church,
 this is one of the Doctrines thereof: The practice of these
 Principles we beheld with sad hearts in the late time,
 and we may now see clearly whence the Rebels had
 their Instructions. And this may convince any Impar-
 tial man, that the Guides of that Church are not so
 fond of *Monarchy* but they can advise its ruine, and
 promote the setting up a *Commonwealth*, when it is
 their Interest so to do.

If I would enlarge on this Subject, I might shew,
 that the *Papists* not only contrived the Principles upon
 which the Rebellion began; but that they actually
 assisted in the carrying it on. To prove which let the
 Reader examine the Transactions of Cardinal *Riche-
 leus’s* Agents, who were sent to promote the Rebellion
 in *Scotland*, An. 1638 (p). And the discovery of that
 Cardinals Practices to ruine King *Charles* the First,
Anno 1640, by *Andreas ab Habnerfeld* (q): As also
 his dying advice to the King of *France*, To keep *Eng-
 land* divided, and to reduce it to a *Commonwealth*, ci-
 ted out of an *Italian* History by Mr. *Prin* (r). To
 which may be added that solemn Declaration of our
 Royal Martyr, *That there was a greater number of Pa-
 pists in the Rebels Army, than in his* (s). And some
 of the moderater Men of the *Parliaments* Party, dis-
 covered there were vast numbers of *Priests* and *Je-
 suits* disguised in Arms against the King, in a Book
 called *The Beacon fired* (t). And there are yet many
 uncontroled Evidences, that divers of that Religion
 rejoiced at his death as an Enemy to their Church and
 Interest

(p) *Annals* of
 King *Charles*,
 pag. 768.
 (q) *Ibid.* Pref.
 pag. 3.

(r) *Gospel plea*,
 pag 148.

(s) *Declaration*,
 Octob. 23.
 1642.

(t) *Prin’s* Gos-
 pel plea, p. 130.

Interest (u): As also a full account how many of them Addressed themselves to the *Usurpers*, then in Power, and took that Ingagement, which the *Church of England Protestants* generally refused (x). All which favoured of no great Loyalty, and indeed, if they act by the Principles of their own Doctors, or the Practices of their Predecessors, no Prince can rely on their Allegiance; it being evident that they will hold it no longer, than their own Interest perswades them to it. But after all it would be very deplorable, if when the constant Loyalty and faithful Services of the *Church of England Protestants* to the Royal Family, and the vigorous Endeavours of the others to ruine it be summed up, the latter should be cherished, and the former deserted by one of that Royal Race.

(u) *Du Molin's Answer to Philanax Angl.*

(x) *Lord Orrery's Answer to Peter Walsh his Letter.*

Secondly, Considering his Royal Highness as the Heir of a Crown, and particularly of this of *England*, undoubtedly it is highly contrary to Reason and his Interest, to espouse the Religion of *Rome*, and forsake that which is now by Law established; for those that are Kings, or are likely to be so, ought to encourage that Church most; which most effectually promotes Loyalty (provided they were alike right in other points;) but the *Protestant Church of England* is not only better in all other Accounts, but doth hold, teach, and practise Loyalty above all others in the World; the Divines thereof generally holding *Monarchy* to be of Divine Right, and *Allegiance* to be an Obligation on the Conscience, and indispensable, because the Kings Power is from God, to whom only Kings are accountable; but the *Papists* teach, That Kings derive their Power from the People (y). This Church obliges all Ecclesiastical Persons before their Admission to any preferment, to subscribe her Articles,

(y) *Sanders de Clav. David, l. 5. cap. 2. Bellarm. de Rom. Pontif. l. 1. c. 7. & de Clericis, c. 28.*

one

(z) Article 37.

(a) Pontific.
Rom. Clem. 8.
cap. de Consec.
elect. in Episc.(b) King James
his Speech to
the Parl. after
Nov. 5. 1605.(c) Eadmerus,
Cant. hist. p. 26.

one of which is expresse for *Obedience to the Civil Magistrate* (z). and binds them by the *Oath of Allegiance* to the King, and makes them renounce all *Rebellious Principles and Practices*; whereas the *Pope* only takes care to give his Candidates an *Oath of Allegiance* to the *See of Rome*, 'To be helpers to the *Popes* 'against all Men, to keep and defend the *Roman Papacy*, and the *Regalities of St. Peter*—and that they 'will to their power persecute and impugn *Hereticks*, 'Schismaticks, and *Rebels*, to the *Pope* and his Successors, &c. (a). But our Clergy make no such promise to any but their own Prince, and to him alone they pay this Duty; They pray for him four or five times by name in all their solemn Offices, whereas the *Mass* scarce mentions the King above once, their *Sermons* are frequent, and pressing upon this Theme and their Books are numerous (against *Papists* and their factious Scholars) for the *Right of Kings*; yea, and their Actions being always Loyal do justifie they sincerely believe as they teach. But our Judicious and Learned King *James* publicly affirms, That though many *Honest men*, seduced with some Errors of *Popery*, may yet remain good and faithful Subjects, yet none of those that truly know and believe the whole grounds and School-Conclusions of their Doctrine, can ever prove either good Christians or faithful Subjects (b). And an old Friend of the *Popes* tells us, that one of our Ancient Kings was of the same mind, who said to *Anselm*, That he could not hold the Faith and Allegiance due to his Prince, together with that Obedience he professed to the Apostolick See (c). But to make this more plain; If all good *Catholicks* be bound to believe as the Church of *Rome* believes, then 'tis certain they are bound to believe the *Pope* hath power to depose Kings, and absolve Subjects from their Allegiance; for there is all the

the assurance that can be, that this is (not the Opinion of some few Doctors, only, but) the Doctrine and Faith of the *Roman Church*. *Bellarmino* reckons up Seventy Doctors that hold this (d), and another hath added an Hundred more (e); yea the *English Papists* are taught; that 'The whole School of Divines and Canonists agree in it, that it is certain & de fide, that a Prince falling from the *Catholick Religion*, and endeavouring to draw others from it, doth immediately fall from his power and dignity, even before the *Pope* hath pronounced any Sentence, and that his Subjects are free from their Oaths of *Obedience*, and may reject such an one as an *Apostate*, and a *Heretic* (f). Which was levelled at *Queen Elizabeth* and *King James*. And *Cardinal Perron* in a solemn Speech to a General Assembly in *France*, saith, *The contrary Doctrine is so detestable, that he and his Fellow Bishops will choose to burn at the Stake rather than to consent to it*. And no wonder, for the *Popes* in their *Decretals* claim this Power as due to them *Jure Divino*, justifying it by Scripture (as they pervert it) and the Tradition of their Church (g); yea some of those they call *General Councils* have declared it, and grounded their Decrees upon it (h). And the Practice of that Church for above six hundred years last past, hath reduced this Doctrine into act so frequently, that scarce any Nation in *Christendom* wants Examples of *Excommunicating* and *Deposing* their Kings or Emperors, and stirring up their Subjects to Rebel against them. Yea those *Catholicks* who have writ against this Power of the *Pope* (though of the *Roman Religion* in all points else) have been suspended, excommunicated, and prosecuted as *Hereticks* are wont to be, witness *Barclay* and *Roger Widrington*, of old, and *Mr. Walsh* in our days:

(d) *Bellarmino de Pontif. Rom.*

l. 5.
(e) *Foulis Hist of Rom. Treasons.*

(f) *Creswell's Philopater,*
pag. 106, 107.

(g) *Greg. 7. lib. 8. Ep. 21.*

(h) *Concil. Later. 3. c. 27. Concil Lat. 4. c. 4. Concil. Ludg. 1. ap. Bin. T. 3. p. 2. pag. 721.*

days: If then Consent of their Doctors, Decrees of their Popes, Canons of their General Councils Practice of their Church, and their Censures against Dissenters, be sufficient to declare a Doctrine of the *Roman Church*, this is One; and if it be objected, That for all this the *Papists* in *England* do obey and live quietly under a Prince of different Religion: I reply, A *Papist Priest* tells us, *That in England the Catholics excuse for obeying an Heretical Prince, is, because they are not strong enough to carry a Rebellion (i):* and *Bellarmino* saith, the Reason why the Pope doth not exercise this Power always, is, *Because either the Church wants strength, or doth not see it expedient (k).* And formerly, that he might use this Power as soon as ever he had a fair opportunity, he sent Two *Breves* hither to forbid all *Catholics* the taking *the pernicious and unlawful Oath of Allegiance* (as he calls it) *(l).* And (as our Excellent King *James* complains) privately sent over *Priests*, seasoned with those *Treasonable Doctrines*, to dispose his Subjects to Rebel *(m).* If it be replied, This danger is only to *Heretical Princes*, not to those who profess the *Roman Faith*: I Answer, even those, if they cross the Pope's Will, or oppose his Usurpations, are Deposed as well as *Hereticks*. The Emperors, *Frederick* and *Henry* the Fourth, were right *Roman Catholics*, only they would not part with their undoubted Rights of Investitures, for which by the Pope's means they lost both their Kingdoms and their Lives; and the not restoring Abby-Lands, or not oppressing *Hereticks*, would be a fairer pretence to deprive a *Catholic King* of *England*, or his Posterity. King *Henry* the Third of *France* was in all points a *Papist*, yet was first Excommunicated, and then lost his Life by the Pope's means. And which his Royal Highness ought seriously to consider, His Illustrious Grandfather,

Henry

(i) *Watson's*
Quodlib. pag.
255.

(k) *Bellarmino*.
recog. in l. 5.
de *Rom. Pontif.*

(l) *Vid. Brevia*
ap. *R. Jacob.*
Apol. &
Vid. Præfat.
Monitor. p. 13.
(m) *Apol.* pag.
108. *Præfat.*
Mon. p. 153.

Henry the Fourth of France, after he had declared himself a *Papist*, yet because he was too Noble to persecute that Church, he had once been a Member of, he was barbarously Assassinated by a Votary of Rome; and indeed, where the Interest of their Church is concerned, they spare neither Friend nor Foe; wisely therefore doth King James conclude from hence, *This (saith he) I am very sure of, that it is highly the Interest of all Kings, betimes to put a stop to this dangerous Power of the Roman Church.*

But most especially it is the Interest of his R. H. if he be considered as one that may be King of *England*, and that first in respect of himself, secondly of his People. The *Protestant* Religion hath restored the King of *England* to his just and ancient Rights, declared Him Supreme in all Causes, and over all Persons (n), and owns the Crown of this Realm to be free, and in no earthly Subjection: But the Pope not only claims a Power over all Kings, but accounts the Crown of *England* to be more peculiarly subject to him. *The King of England (saith Bellarmine) is subject to the Pope, not only as all other Christians are, by reason of the Apostolick Authority, but Ratione directi Dominii (o).* And Pope Adrian the Fourth, in his Letters to our King Henry the Second, saith, *That all the Islands that have received the Christian Faith, peculiarly belong to the Church of Rome (p).* So *Wale*, the Legate of Pope Innocent the Third, calls *England*, *The Patrimony of St. Peter, and of the Roman Church (q).* Pope Innocent the Fourth also declares to his Cardinals, *That the King of England was his Vassal, yea to say more, his Slave (r);* and they have not yet laid aside this Claim, for Pope Paul the Fourth would not own Queen Elizabeth, because this Kingdom was a Fee of the Papacy; and he said, *It was audaciously*

(n) Vid. lib.
Steph. Gardin.
de verâ Obed.

(o) Matth. Tort.
in Reg. Jac.
Apol. pag. 19.

(p) Ep. Adr. 4.
ap. Baron. &
Mat. Paris.

(q) Mat. Westm.
hist. An. 1216.

(r) Mat. Paris.
An. 1283. p. 84.

(s) Hist. Conc.
of Trent. An.
1558.

done of her to assume it without his leave (s): and Cardinal Allen saith, That without the Approbation of the Apostolick See, none can be Lawful King or Queen of England, by reason of an ancient Accord made An. 1171, and renewed An. 1210, Admonition to the Nobility. And indeed even in time of Popery the People of England perceived, and publicly complained of the Popes endeavours to enslave the Crown of Eng-

(t) Stat. Book,
An. 16. Rich. 2.
c. 5. p. 283.

land (t), and made many fruitless Laws against it, till the Reformation cut all the Pope's Cords asunder, and who being once set free can desire to be again entangled with such a Yoke of Bondage? The Stories of *Anselm* and *Thomas Becket* sufficiently shew how these Pretences fettered our Ancient Kings, so that the Pope then openly bragged, *That he could procure the King of England to be imprisoned, or disgraced,*

(u) Mat. Paris.
An. 1253.

whenever he pleased (u). Our old *Annals* testifie, that the Pope, upon the Kings denying him any unjust demand, ordinarily stirred up Foreigners to invade us, or procure Rebellions at home. When *David*, tributary Prince of *Wales* renounced his Allegiance to *Henry the Third*, *The Pope* (saith *Mat. Paris*) took his part, and opened his bosom to receive him, when he Rebelled against the King (w.) And the same Author

(w) Idem An.
1244.

speaks of another of our Kings thus; *He having subdued all his Enemies, was secure; nor did he fear any but the Pope, and that not for his Spiritual, but Temporal power* (x).

(x) Idem. hist.
Min. An. 1107.

And what Prince, that were fairly quit of so uncertain a Friend, and so dangerous an Enemy whenever disgusted, would relinquish his Supremacy and Independency, and part with so many branches of both the Prerogative and Revenues also of the Crown, to hire him to reassume his Ancient Tyranny; we hope his R. H. Prudence will never allow this, nor his Generosity stoop to it.

Lastly,

Lastly, Such a Submission to the Power of *Rome* is most contrary to his Royal Highness Interest, with respect to the People he is to govern, who have generally so rooted an irreconcilable Hatred to that Religion, that nothing is more universally abhorred by this Nation; and though Protestants dissent in divers matters, they all agree in detestation of Popery, and that not out of humour or groundless prejudice, but out of a deep sense of the freedom they enjoy since the *Reformation*, and a sad Remembrance of their Forefathers misery under the Popish Yoke. The Knowledge which now abounds hath so discovered the Cheats, and laid open the designs of that Church; its evil Principles, and worse Practices, are now so evident to all, that they cannot but abhor it. Particularly those who can look back into the History of former Times, do principally reflect upon Three things; First, *The Oppression*. Secondly, *The Pride*: And Thirdly, *The Cruelty of that Church*. For the First; In King *Johns* time it was declared, 'That the 'Pope got more Money out of *England*, than out of 'all the Countries on this side the *Alps*, *Matth. Paris*, pag. 224. But of this, the next Kings Reign affords Instances enough to make us stand at all the distance we can; for in *Henry* the Thirds time a Monk then alive tells us, *By the Popes Exactions infinite numbers throughout England were undone and brought to Beggary* (y). Yea he affirms, *That excepting the Plate* (y) *Mat. Paris.* *and Church Ornaments there was not so much Mony left* pag. 386. *in England as Otho the Pope's Legate had extorted* (z). (z) *Idem An.* And the whole Kingdom in a Letter to Pope *Innocent* 1242. the Fourth, (yet extant even in modern *Popish* Authors) (a), complain, *That the Pope and his Creatures beyond Sea had a Revenue out of England, which exceeded the Revenues of the Crown, and that to the* *Italians* (a) *Epist. à Nobil. Angl. ap. Bin. in Concil. Lugdun. T. 3. par. 2. p. 729.*

Religion and Loyalty

Italians was yearly exported from hence Threescore thousand Marks: but to this the Pope gave no Reply. And when they complained to the King, and asked why he would suffer *England* to be brought to desolation, He only said, *I will not, I dare not contradict my Lord the Pope in any thing* (b). So that the English were brought to sad despair (as he says a little after) and suffered more cruel Bondage than the Israelites in Egypt did (c): while the Pope merry with the Spoils, called *England*, His inexhaustible Pit (d), though the Historian more truly calls the Roman Court *An insatiable Gulph* (e). But all those old Oppressions are so well cast up in a late Book (f) that I will not enlarge further; only shall note, That this was not the only Nation thus used by the Pope. The Germans presented also their *Centum gravamina*; and a Monk of that Country Protested, *If the Princes would not take some speedy care, all the Money of Germany would be exhausted and put into that bottomless Bag, and insatiable Gulph, the Roman Court* (g). And the like Complaints were then made from all Nations in *Christendom*. If it be pretended, The Pope is more moderate in these days, that pretence is sufficiently confuted by a late Book put out by the *Catholick King* himself, in the time of the late Pope *Urban the 8th* (h), complaining of the unreasonable increase of Pensions, of granting Coadjutorships and Reversions, with reservation of the biggest part of the Benefices to the Pope, of the high Rates of *Papal Dispensations* (one sometime costing Fourteen thousand *Ducats*) of taking away the Rights and Jurisdiction of Bishops, of his seizing the Estates of the deceased Clergy, and all the Revenues of Vacant Preferments; of the oppression of his *Nuntio's*, and the extortion used in the Fees of his Court. Thus it seems they still use the Nations

(b) *Mat. Paris.*
pag. 507. &
515.

(c) *Id.* p. 622.

(d) *Idem An.*
1246.

(e) *Id.* pag. 707.

(f) *The Romish*
Horfeleech.

(g) *Langius*
Chron. Ziti-
cenf. An. 1520.

(h) *Memorial de*
sa Majestad.
Cathol. &c.

Nations that obey them; and thus we justly fear they would use us, who have been so long free from these Exactions, that we should very ill brook them now; and indeed the exporting so much *Mony*, must needs be a great weakning to the Nation, and cause a miserable decay of Trade. Secondly, We also remember their Pride; how Pope *Innocent* the Fourth said, *He would make peace with the Emperour, because the petty Kings of England and France kicked against him; for when the Dragon was appeased, he could easily trample on these little Serpents* (i). And a later than he affirmed, *He would have no Prince esteemed his Equal, but all of them to be under his feet* (k). Their Doctrine, That Kings are not only below the Pope, but that all Ecclesiasticks are as far above them, as the Soul is above the Body (l), will not be endured in this Age. Our Nobility and Gentry themselves would scorn to be trampled on at this rate. But lastly, The deepest prejudice springs from the remembrance of that Churches Cruelty, which hath every where with Fire and Sword (if they had opportunity) and with the most Inhumane Tortures, destroyed their fellow Christians, who dissent from them; we read what a Popish Venetian Bishop writes, An. 1558. *That within Forty years, above an Hundred thousand had been put to death for Heresie by the Pope's procurement in Italy, Spain, France, Holland, and England* (m). The Cruelties to the poor *Wiclevists* of old, and the Fire and Faggot in Queen *Maries* Reign cannot be forgotten. And if we look abroad, we find Millions of the *Albigenses* and *Waldenses* in France sacrificed to the Pope's rage; and of later time that most cruel Massacre at *Paris*, wherein, besides the Nobility, 10000 others were slain in a few hours time, and 20000 more in the Country within a Month after, for which (as an Authentick Historian relates)

(i) *Mat. Paris.*
pag. 640.

(k) *Histor. Con-*
cil. Trent. An.
1588.

(l) *R. Jacob. è*
Bellarmin. Apol
pag. 132.

(m) *Ger. Bussine*
Episc. Argol.
ap. *Wolf. mem.*
lect. ep. Dedic.

(n) *Thuanus*
hist. lib. 53.

relates) the Pope called his Cardinals together to give Thanks to God for so great a Blessing conferred on the See of Rome, and the Christian World (n). In the Low Countries the Duke of Alva caused at least 50000 to be destroyed on the account of Religion; and of fresher memory those miserable Protestants of Piedmont were most inhumanly butchered in great numbers upon the like account; and nearer home, in the Irish Rebellion there were (as my Lord of Orery computes) 200000 barbarously cut off. They that can do this and call it *Religious Zeal*, what may they not do? Inquisitions, Racks, Torments, and Death, must needs be ingrateful to human Nature. 'Tis true, many of us reflecting upon the innate Clemency, that is so inseparable from our Generous Royal Family (which hath blessed England with three of the mildest and most merciful Kings that ever yet Ruled over it) do firmly believe if they could pervert his Royal Highness to some of their Errors, they yet can never perswade Him to put off his own Nature and Love to his Native Country so far, as to permit them to Persecute us as they desire. Yet still, while we enjoyed such quiet under his Protection, we should be in constant fear of a *Ravilliac*, and that they would cut him off to make way for a more Zealous Catholick; for one of their General Councils hath declared, *That if a Ruler refuse to purge his Territory from Heresie, he falls from his Dignity, and may be deprived of his Country, and his Subjects set free from Allegiance to him* (o). And they teach, That a King so Deposed, may be lawfully killed by any private Person (p); and they have proved this their Faith by their Works, as the Blood of many Christian Princes doth abundantly testify. To conclude, Since it appears that the *Addressors* have so many clear and pressing Reasons to love that excellent Religion, which teaches them to love their Prince, and defend his Rights, and so many just causes for rejecting the disloyal and dangerous Opinions of Papists and Sectaries, they doubt not but they may hold their Religion fast without injuring their Loyalty, and keep their Loyalty without Renouncing their Religion, since these do mutually support each other, and since their Religion teaches them to be good Subjects, they hope They shall never want a Prince who will love and preserve that Religion, in which (by Gods Grace) they resolve to live and die.

(o) Concil. Lat.
4. Can. 3.
(p) *Suarez* in
Reg. Magn.
Britan. 1.6.
cap 4. §. 20.

F I N I S.